

# THE CANADIAN FORUM

Twenty-Sixth Year of Issue

August, 1946

## Labor Fights On

I. M. OWEN



## British Foreign Policy

G. M. A. GRUBE



## Significance of UNESCO

BLODWEN DAVIES



## Radar in Peacetime

ROSS L. HOLMAN



Beginnings of An  
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How Australia Helps  
Its Writers

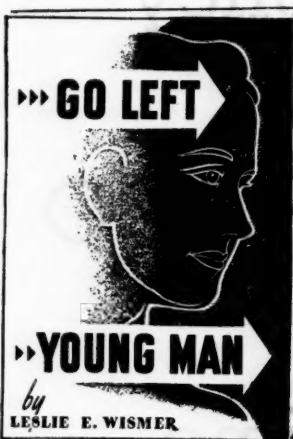
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## O CANADA

Col. R. J. Birtwhistle . . . secretary of the Dominion Rifle Association . . . declared that rifle shooting engendered patriotic feeling, particularly in the younger generation. This was the initial move in making better citizens for Canada, he said. "Today, we who have the interest of rifle shooting promotion in our hearts firmly believe that in this training we have the great opportunity of character building which makes for the better individual, the better business or professional man and the better citizen of our Dominion," he concluded. (Regina Leader Post)

The cherry pie-eating championship among Canadian mayors named McCammon was slated to be run off at Chilliwack, B.C., this week and residents of the town of Paris are anxiously awaiting results. The mayor of Paris is J. P. McCammon, who is visiting with his nephew, R. T. McCammon, mayor of Chilliwack, and has accepted the challenge of his nephew to enter the contest, part of the community's cherry festival. (Special from Paris, Ont., to Globe and Mail)

Rodney Adamson (PC, York West) . . . was inclined to agree with those who criticize the present procedure of taking gold out of a hole in Northern Ontario and putting it into a hole in Fort Knox. . . . If gold wasn't worth anything he agreed that Canada should not be producing it, but this could not be proved one way or the other so long as Governments regulated that value. (Globe and Mail)

Men have been parading in their back yards in the nude or near-nude; one woman was reported walking about wearing nothing more than a pair of panties. The complaints are coming from all parts of the city, police switchboard operators said today. The first call came about 9 a.m. Police cruisers have been busy ever since. (Toronto Star)

John Ruskin, famed deep thinker of the last century, should have been a Rotarian, according to R. E. Vernor, Chicago insurance man and club member, who addressed the weekly meeting of the Montreal Rotary Club yesterday. The old economist's claim to membership, Mr. Vernor said, rests upon his statement of an ideal that perfectly expresses the conception of Rotary International of the nature and function of a good businessman. (Montreal Gazette)

Dr. R. P. Vivian [of the McGill University Department of Health and Social Medicine] expressed the opinion that the system of state medicine could not meet with great success in Canada. A better policy would be the payment of subsidies which would take some of the burden of payment for medical care off the shoulders of the individual. Complete payment is not the responsibility of government, as the individual must safeguard his own health, or lose his desire to remain healthy, Dr. Vivian stated. (Halifax Herald)

Ottawa, July 12 (CP).—Labor Minister Mitchell said Thursday in the commons if labor leaders would avail themselves of machinery provided for handling disputes it was doubtful whether there would be a strike in Canada today. Some inexperienced leaders were wrong in believing that they were rendering a service to their membership by calling a strike. "They take their people out on the street and when they get into a jam they come to me and ask me to get them out of it," he said. (Regina Leader-Post)

Halifax, long accustomed to gunfire, explosions, and raucous matelots, raised an enquiring eyebrow recently when a 21-gun salute thundered out from Citadel Hill. . . . But Brigadier James Stewart knew what he was doing, even if other Army officers were evasive. The 21-guns were for the Coronation of George the Sixth, an anniversary which, if you remember, falls on May 12th. The ceremony, suspended during war years, should have been resumed in the Capital and the nine Provincial capitals. Only Halifax (for once) was right on the bit. (Canadian Mail)

This month's prize of a six months' subscription goes to W. K. Bryden, Regina, Sask. All contributions should contain original clipping, date and name of publication.

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# THE CANADIAN FORUM

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## Conference in Paris

The discussions of the four foreign ministers during their prolonged sessions in Paris were brilliantly described by M. Bidault, who said: "What we are really seeking is an equality of dissatisfaction." They found it in the solution of a few secondary questions such as the Northern frontier of Italy on the Brenner Pass and the internationalization of Trieste. And they agreed to call a peace conference of the twenty-one nations to make peace with Italy, Finland and the Balkans. Mr. Molotov on this occasion surpassed himself with the bizarre contention that the Big Four must fix all the rules of procedure for this conference beforehand; otherwise, he maintained, the conference would be a mere rubber stamp!

The central problem of Germany has not been dealt with, and is not on the peace conference agenda. Russia, who is mainly responsible for the fact that the zones of occupation have been administered in isolation and Germany thus completely split up in fact, with serious economic consequences, has now declared itself in favor of a united Germany—ultimately. This attitude is highly reminiscent of the old Tory reaction to proposals for improved social services. In principle yes, but not now, not here, and not this way.

However, we have no wish to minimize agreement even on minor problems. Those who have once broken the pattern of disagreement are more likely to agree again. The security council, however, was less fortunate, and bogged down on the use of the veto to decide when the veto should be used. The Atomic Energy Commission has done good work under the able leadership of Dr. Evatt from Australia, who is determined there is not going to be any more veto than he can help.

Less publicized, but certainly not less important, is the work of the new International Emergency Food Council which is faced with the terrifying task of dealing with actual and threatened famine in many parts of the world. The new Health organization too is well under way. It seems that men can work together to save humanity from starvation and disease, as long as the surrender of the right to kill each other is not involved.

## Bombs Away

Atom Bomb No. 4 has come and gone; Atom Bomb No. 5 may have exploded before these lines are read. About the physical results opinions differ. Navy men say they point to alterations in warship design, but there'll always be a navy. Observers found the spectacle disappointing as fireworks. There is a suspicion, in conflicting reports about accuracy and timing, that deliberate attempts may have been made to accomplish the bomb's belittlement.

Meanwhile the moral effect goes marching on. A committee of Congress, chopping \$150,000,000 off the foreign relief allotment, doubled the army's atomic development fund, while Disunited Nations spokesmen argued about how atomic energy should be controlled, and Canada discreetly pushed the development of atomic energy from her raw materials, studied proposals for pooling basic scientific information internationally, and glanced disapprovingly at the veto power upon which Russia, still cagey from experience, sulkily insists.

The real danger from the atomic bomb is that it will rob us of our sense of horror, just as the telegraph, the telephone and the radio have numbed our sense of wonder. To restore this waning sense, it would be necessary to release immediately and unconditionally to all nations the formula for producing the atomic bomb. This would make the danger so imminent and realizable that we might then conceivably be constrained to agree at once on the abandonment of the bomb and the full international control of atomic energy development. But to stake all on such an immediate risk in order to banish the suspicions and intrigues that are pushing us towards the ultimate abyss would perhaps require an act of national self-abnegation beyond the power of humanity in its present underdone condition. The most we can hope for is that sanity will somehow prove stronger than the friction and distrust for which the existence of the bomb is largely responsible.

## Aid to Inflation

Having capitulated in a very broad manner to the financial and industrial interests, Rt. Hon. J. L. Ilsley, Minister of Finance, had his budget practically written for him. The corporations are displeased with the wait until the beginning of 1947 for tax relief of corporation income and excess profits taxes (both are to be decreased twenty-five per cent). But they forced the delay upon themselves by holding up production and creation of artificial shortages.

Now business will wait further; and shortages in essential materials and much-needed consumer goods will continue into next year. Capitalism thrives on shortages and scarcity. Mr. Ilsley has assisted with his too early announcement of coming tax reductions. He argued the threat of inflation as his reason for holding tax rates up for the balance of 1946. The reverse is true. An immediate reduction of taxes, since we are still operating under "free enterprise" capitalism, would have been a stimulant to production, thus reducing the inflation threat.

What of the ordinary income tax payer? He, too, will pay less tax in 1947. Exemptions are to be higher (\$750 for single persons and \$1500 for married men). But these are too low having regard for the cost of living and should be \$1000 and \$2000 approximately, as has been cited by both labor conferences. Rates are also to be lower. The relation of a married woman's income to her husband's and the exemption allowed in such cases has been placed on a much sounder basis. But dependent's earnings have not.

The provision for exemption for children as long as they are young enough to receive family allowances appears reasonable; but later (over sixteen years) the exemption bonuses the families with high incomes at the expense of the great mass of workers' families with low incomes (under \$1500 - \$2100). An exemption of \$300 per child-dependent over sixteen from income not received will in no way aid the low income families in educating their children.

The whole personal income tax structure must be overhauled and placed on a completely new footing. Only in this way can the large incomes be brought into fair relationship with the lower incomes. As it stands, any reduction in



schedule rates provides the greatest relief when it is least needed, and provides little or no relief when it is needed most.

Socialists will need to give real study to this problem before attempting to use the income tax for adequate revenue purposes.

## Prices and Dollars

The cost of living, even in the official index—and this does not reflect the rises at all adequately—is racing upwards in a steeper curve than it did at any time during the war, and the revaluation of the dollar to parity with the American dollar is not likely to stop it. Indeed, it may well, on the contrary, make matters worse. While it is true that an upward revaluation of our dollar would normally have a deflationary effect, at this time it is likely to tie us in more closely with the economy of the United States, where serious inflation is already under way. An example of this has already occurred in the paper industry where a higher price has been obtained, not only in the U.S. to offset the loss to Canadian exporters in Canadian currency, but in Canada also. Parity between the two dollars is likely to lead to more imports from the States, at their prices, with a consequent pressure from our manufacturers for as high prices for their goods in our market.

Our government could deal with this situation, but has it the will to do so? Indeed can it do so and remain in the good graces of big business, whom it cannot afford to offend? What is needed is, first, a revision of the cost of living index so that it more nearly reflects the actual living costs. Then, on those calculations, decide what is a decent standard of health and welfare. Next, the government should encourage wages to rise to that level and at the same time control prices by limiting profits. High prices are due more to high profits than high wages, and certainly inflation is, though the government pretends it's the other way round. And the next step should be to stop the manufacturers' strike from which we are still suffering and to ensure full production to the limit of available materials. This, it may be said, is socialism. Well, it is some way towards it, but it is the only solution. As things are, we are well on the way to a little inflationary boom and then a big depression. And a quite unnecessary labor war is on our hands, with the government blatantly on the side of big business.

## Public Radio in Jeopardy

Proceedings before the parliamentary radio committee show that the private broadcasting interests have resolute friends in parliament. With their aid, the long-continued campaign to undermine national radio and enlarge the money-making privileges of the private stations is coming to a head.

These interests are pursuing their aim behind a fog-screen of deceptive propaganda. Their plausible "compromise" suggestions would mean an abandonment of the principle contained in the Canadian Broadcasting Act, which is that the national radio authority shall be paramount, with a monopoly of network broadcasting and full control over private stations. Network broadcasting is carried on through CBC-owned stations linked with private stations; outside of that, private stations are intended to provide a purely local community service, financed by advertising. The CBC is financed primarily by listeners' license fees. But circumstances (a long depression and a world war) have compelled the CBC to seek additional revenue from commercially-sponsored programs; in this revenue private stations on CBC networks share proportionately.

It is unfortunate that the CBC has had to rely to such an extent on this commercial revenue. The remedy is not to open the door to greater commercialization of the air by permitting private networks, but to limit further the commercial programs on CBC networks and, if necessary, slightly increase the listeners' license fee. If the private stations were granted the privilege of network hookups, profits would be the sole criterion of acceptance. The public radio authority at least applies the criterion of quality in accepting sponsored broadcasts.

Progressive decommercialization of network broadcasting in Canada is implicit in the Canadian Broadcasting Act. Unless we wish to subject ourselves to the riot of commercialism which exists in the United States, it would be folly to alter the status and enlarge the privileges of private stations. Specious proposals of an over-riding tribunal to act as "arbiter" between the CBC and private stations are mere tactical approaches to the ultimate goal of wide-open commercialization.

It is alarming to see the Government spokesman for the CBC in parliament, Hon. J. J. McCann, advancing such a "compromise" proposal, acceptance of which could only be regarded as a betrayal of principles embodied in the Canadian Broadcasting Act. Where does the present Government, father of the Act—where do the more far-seeing members of the Liberal Party—really stand on this question of vital concern to the listening public? It is time we learned.

We urge our readers to write at once to Ralph Maybank, M.P., chairman, House of Commons Committee on Radio, Ottawa, protesting against any tampering with the Canadian Broadcasting Act. One dollar forwarded to the King's Printer for the published record of evidence and cross-examination would be well spent.

## Politics and Self-respect

The Sanderson Reliable Exterminator advertisements in the Toronto municipal elections of 1944 are still remembered as probably the dirtiest political propaganda yet. It will also be remembered that they were proved before the LeBel Commission to have been the joint work of Sanderson and that other unsavory character, Osborne Dempster, then with special duties in the Ontario provincial police.

On July 3 last, the Ontario Court of Appeal dismissed the appeal of the sixteen original plaintiffs in libel proceedings against Sanderson and the *Globe and Mail*, and a cross appeal by the defendants, in a remarkable judgment which may well have disastrous consequences for the political health of this province and the citizen rights of anyone who enters public life. The trial judge had instructed the jury that an election was an occasion of "qualified privilege." With this the Appeal judges apparently agree, and state further: "No monetary loss is involved, and a jury is not likely to regard as serious the damage, if any, done by rough words applied to a political opponent, even though they may amount to gross abuse."

This means in effect that any person who enters public life must abandon all self-respect, and that the ordinary protection of the laws of libel and slander is almost totally withdrawn from him. It means also that loss of reputation and the like are of no importance compared with any loss that can be counted in dollars and cents. Men and women of ability and character are not likely to stand for public office if they are to be exposed to "gross abuse" based on wholesale falsehoods (which the Sanderson ads. admittedly were) with-



out redress. All thoughtful people agree that the attitude of those who regard politics as *necessarily* a dirty business is dangerous to democracy. Unfortunately, that attitude is evidently now shared by Mr. Justice Robertson and his three colleagues, who concurred. We can only hope that the means may be found to carry this matter further, and to have this pernicious judgment upset.

## Watered Stock

Few would deny that some recognition may be due to those civilians who gave specially self-denying service to Canada's war effort. But when decorations are distributed as widely as in the case of the recent awards of rank in the Order of the British Empire (Civil Division), one is led to question the value of the distinction.

This is especially so when many other individuals appear to have rendered war services quite as meritorious as those singled out for honor, and when the work done by some, at least, of the recipients was not entirely lacking in more tangible rewards. Indeed, the temptation to invidious comparisons within the scope of the awards themselves is irresistible.

Moreover, one may doubt the propriety of a decoration which, rank for rank, is the same for both military and civilian conferees. A soldier, sailor or airman may have won his CBE or MBE under fire and at the risk of life or limb; to give the same award to a civilian who has risked nothing and sacrificed nothing save, perhaps, a little time or money, is confusing. The words "Military Division" and "Civil Division" which separate the two classes of awards appear in official lists, but are lost sight of afterwards when the respective individuals attach the identical initials to their names. This may well prove embarrassing, not to say unfair, to the military awardee.

The incident again places at issue the whole principle of honorary distinctions in civil life, which in the matter of titles was long ago decided by Canada in the negative. Sparingly used, there may be something to be said for them. When thus diluted by arbitrary government dispensation they are apt to become a subject for derision.

## Canadian Authors Meet

Everyone knows Mr. F. R. Scott's poem of this title, and for a long time meetings of Canadian authors have not altogether unjustly been associated with log-rolling, mutual admiration, clique-forming, claque-recruiting, lugubrious if somewhat inconsistent gripes about why there isn't a Canadian literature and why it isn't better known, and the like. But the twenty-fifth anniversary conference in Toronto, though of course it had all this, was a very different kind of meeting. Literature comes of age, not by improving its quality, but by adopting professional standards and ceasing to worry about its quality. Most Canadian literature is and always will be tripe for the very simple reason that most literature of all countries in all ages is and always will be tripe. Any national group of authors will form a pyramid with a few serious writers on top and a broad base of pulp-scribblers at the bottom. No literary critic would say that these latter were even earning an honest living; but, commercially speaking, they sell their wares in the same market and are as much entitled to the name of author as Mr. Callaghan or Gabrielle Roy. An author's association simply has to

accept this fact, and, for the sake of its few serious writers, go ahead on trade union lines, working to get better publicity for its members, to equalize income tax so that it will be based on the average of several years instead of on the individual year, to standardize copyright laws, to arrange for pensions for elderly authors and scholarships or prizes for young ones, and so on. This last conference did begin to concern itself seriously with such matters, and the Canadian Authors' Association will be a valuable asset to Canadian culture in proportion to its advance in the direction of an authors' union. We should like to call its attention also to the question of censorship, mentioned last month, which with the banning of Farrell's latest novel has grown from a nuisance into a scandal.

## Marginalia

Premier Drew's new liquor legislation for Ontario, it is said, will not control prices for liquor by the glass. Looks as if Ontario's famous "cocktail bars" are to be reserved for those who don't give a hangover about expense.

Latest Royal Commission charges of espionage extend to individuals who "did not so far as the evidence discloses take any active part in the subversive activities but would have done so if required." This sounds surprisingly like an indictment for "dangerous thoughts," or holding a person guilty until proved innocent—a principle not previously associated with British justice.

A stormy Canadian Legion assembly in Toronto recently demanded that the federal government seize all necessary materials and turn them over at ceiling prices to builders of houses at a cost veterans can afford, under the direction of a federal minister not allied with any construction or financial interest. Nothing further has been heard of this sensible suggestion.

A certain "Income Tax Payers Association," in opposition to the findings of a Royal Commission, is carrying on a well-financed campaign urging the taxation of co-operatives'



patronage dividends. Its methods are put in question by evidence tabled in the Commons by Mr. M. J. Coldwell indicating that names on some of the cards sent to members in support of the campaign are apparently forgeries, and others "unknown" at the addresses given.

Chief Andrew Paull of Vancouver, heading a large Indian delegation, handed a Senate-Commons committee some straight talk. He called the Indian Act Administration "the most bureaucratic and dictatorial system ever imposed," charged violation of treaties, and demanded more self-administration for the Indians. He had praise for the Minister and some administrators, but others, he declared, "haven't even got a soul for the Indian to curse."

Though the Citizenship Bill enabling Canadians to call themselves Canadians has passed into law, an exhausted Senate-Commons committee has shunted the Great Flag Controversy back to Parliament itself on a note of uneasy "compromise." The "Union Jack or bust" lads have won a temporary victory; but there remain the questions of how much Union Jack, how much maple leaf, and how much white background, and many Quebec members are eagerly waiting to raise the main issue all over again. Never mind; flag or no flag, at least we *are* Canadians now!

## Labor Fights On

*J. M. Owen*

► SOME TIME AGO, the United Steelworkers proposed that the government should convene a conference of the steel managements and the union, at which representatives of the government agencies controlling prices and wages would present the facts of the economic situation and help the companies and the employees to settle their problems with the facts before them. The government's answer to this reasonable suggestion can be read between the lines of the Minister of Labor's long and wordy telegram to Pat Conroy, chairman of the wage policy committee of the CCL. He said: "Those in the best position to judge state most emphatically that wage increases beyond an amount considered just and reasonable cannot be made effective if price control is to be retained. Again it is the considered opinion of those best able impartially to assess the present economic situation in Canada that increases in wages beyond ten cents per hour and in some instances less will force a break in the price ceiling."

The difference between the Steelworkers' proposal and the telegram quoted is precisely the difference between the action of a pro-labor government and that of the existing Liberal bureaucracy. "Mother, why can't I have more jam?"—"Hush, dear, those in the best position impartially to judge state emphatically that it would not be just or reasonable to make effective a larger amount. Run along now." Most parents have a less soothing prose style than has Mother Mitchell; nevertheless, it is certainly *in loco parentis* that the Minister of Labor and his superiors fancy themselves.

The technique actually used by the government in the steel affair is even more interesting and instructive. The appointment, before the strike, of a controller equipped with three deputies, a ten-cent offer, and heavy penalties for all who disobey him, was a challenge which the union could not ignore. Government controllers have usually been welcomed,

and it has always been considered wise to work with them. This time, the government's action was so openly hostile that a strike was the only answer. Mr. Mitchell, surely, will not get away with this sneaking method of making strikes illegal by piecemeal orders-in-council.

The latest development as we go to press is that the Prime Minister has accepted with surprising alacrity the Conservative proposal that the Industrial Relations Committee of the House should take up the steel dispute. Just what it can do, beyond getting the opposing arguments on the official record, we cannot see. The disputants will appear only as witnesses, unable to discuss or to settle anything; and the committee has no authority. Remembering what Mr. Cleaver's committee did for the Aluminum Company, we await the findings of this one with interest but with little enthusiasm.

But it is not our purpose to discuss specific incidents in the struggle between labor and capital. It is a good moment for a consideration of what is actually happening, and why it is happening. Nearly a year has passed since the atomic bomb and the threat of the Red Army induced Japan to make a hasty surrender. And the only reminder of the days when labor, capital, and Humphrey Mitchell were partners in one great enterprise is the appearance of the names of Messrs. Bengough and Mosher in the Birthday Honors. In those days, not only were we all on the same side, but our newly-industrialized country was more prosperous than it had ever been before. Many Canadians were working under bad conditions for meagre wages even then; there were a few strikes to set the papers muttering about subversive influences; but generally speaking we were all too busy, too well off, and of course too anxious to make much fuss.

Today, the fight which was always labor's above all is being carried on by labor alone, against its erstwhile allies. It may seem unduly harsh to list Canadian employers as the successors to Hitler and his friends, but there is no intention of imputing fascist sympathies or characteristics to them. All we mean is that fascism is primarily and essentially a technique for resisting labor leftism on behalf of the owning class. The military danger of fascism has been crushed in the field by the co-operation of all classes in the capitalist democracies. Labor is now compelled to return to the struggle with its native enemies, most of whom have hitherto used milder techniques than fascism.

"Here," said Mr. King, shaking his finger at Mr. Mosher last April, "is where you and I part company." And Mr. King was speaking the exact truth, in more direct language than we usually expect or receive from him. The owners of capital, aided and abetted in various degrees by every government in Canada save that at Regina, are setting to work to push labor back from the comparatively advantageous position it won during the war. Partially, they will no doubt succeed. Certainly the battle will not go all one way. It will be an ugly battle, weakening and demoralizing the nation, if business is determined to resist all demands. And the more victories won by labor, even if they are small and local, the better it will be for Canada.

For let this be clearly understood: higher wages, shorter working hours, and good working conditions mean higher production and a happier nation. It is the standard of living, not the rate of profit, that registers the national welfare and incidentally decides the amount of profit. Organized labor is working not only for itself, not only for all wage-earners, but for everyone in the country including the members of the owning class. That sounds like a platitude, but it is also an important truth in which some people should have their noses rubbed.

It is true that strikes are harmful to the national economy. That is why the unions try to avoid them. Union members are not anxious to live on dwindling strike funds for indefinite periods; and they know what a stoppage in a basic industry may do to the rest of the country. The fact is that workers not only make the immediate sacrifice in a strike but also take the rap of its further consequences. No controlling stockholder was ever ruined by a strike. For that matter, precious few have been ruined by depressions. The workers want neither strikes nor depression; they are too wise to risk depression in order to avoid a strike.

One word of caution, however, is in order here. The disruption caused or nearly caused by the huge American strikes of recent months should remind us of the force that can be unleashed by organized labor. When you have suspended the works of a nation, either you rouse public and official wrath and at best retire looking embarrassed leaving labor in a worse position than before, or you go forward with mass support and establish a revolutionary government. The latter alternative is ludicrously far from North American realities in 1946. If it were possible, it would only be desirable as a last resort against stark tyranny. The other alternative is more probable, and most unpleasant when it ends in something like Mr. Truman's celebrated "lost weekend." And from the look in Humphrey Mitchell's eye at the moment, it would be unwise to give that statesman an excuse to act like a president. We are merely suggesting that a basic industry should not be entirely tied up throughout the country unless there is no other course open. It would be better to deal with each plant separately, if possible.

Finally, as we said last month, labor must learn one day that its gains will always be inadequate and insecure in a capitalistic economy. However, it would not for this reason be proper to minimize or oppose the current demands of the unions. We have said that higher wages and better working conditions will benefit even the members of the owning class. But that will not harm the socialist cause. It is a common fallacy in the CCF that only a depression will win an election for socialists. Actually, a depression is precisely what might stop the CCF. The last one elected Mr. Bennett, and when he started making noises like a New Dealer, it elected Mr. King, apparently to avert the danger of reform. The war years, the most prosperous in our history, saw the rise of the CCF and of the unions, and even stirred the King government to a practical interest in social legislation. Hunger and fear make people apathetic and over-cautious, not revolutionary. Unless the next depression is powerful enough to dissolve the capitalist system altogether (in which case the substitute will be anarchy or tyranny) it will simply confirm the present bosses in their upholstered office chairs. Socialists need never, therefore, develop the ghoulish state of mind that welcomes poverty and unemployment as vote-getters and educational influences. The unions must be supported wholeheartedly in their effort to obtain for the worker something closer to a fair share of what he produces. And at the same time every effort must be made to show the worker that his ultimate victory will not be attained under capitalism.



## British Foreign Policy

G. M. A. Grube

► WHETHER it was the British tradition of continuity in foreign policy, which would at least require careful consideration before change of direction, or Mr. Bevin's own temperament (he obviously likes to know where he is going before he starts), or only the inevitable time-lag for a new government to find its feet;—whatever the reason, it is fair to say that the change to a Labor foreign policy came, as far as the general public is concerned, only with Mr. Bevin's speech in the House of Commons on November 23 last. There had been statements of principle; loyal adherence to the United Nations organization and the desire for friendship with the Soviet Union, but these were principles to which the Tories also paid at least lip-service, and only actions could show the difference. For action to be understood there had not yet been time.

Three months is a short time for a new government. But the world was moving very fast; events were crowding in and hostile propaganda had already, to some extent, put the new British foreign secretary on the defensive.

### Indonesia

What had happened in Indonesia? On August 15, Java and the adjacent islands were transferred to the British command—55,000 square miles and 43 million inhabitants. Instead of concentration of forces upon one restricted military objective after another, the sudden Japanese surrender made it necessary to be everywhere at once, thus scattering British forces. The British were assigned by the high command to receive the surrender of, and to disarm, the 50,000 Japanese troops in the area, to rescue the war-prisoners and many thousands of refugees in concentration camps in the interior. Bevin has said: "We were obliged to use the expedient of placing responsibility on the Japanese commanders for the maintenance of law and order and for the safety of prisoners and internees throughout the rest of the area," after occupying key points with small contingents. "In Java at all events, that arrangement broke down." There is, however, nothing unusual in the arrangement itself, until the arrival of the victors to take over. The official surrender took place in Tokyo Bay on September 2, then orders were issued from the emperor to other commanders. It was on September 29 that one single battalion of British troops, with some Dutch attached, arrived at Batavia.

They expected no opposition. But the Japanese had approved of Indonesian independence on August 7, and the proclamation of the Indonesian republic followed on August 19. The nationalist contingents were armed and trained by the Japanese, who left them military equipment. By these contingents the British were opposed. Actually, their generals met the nationalist leaders. To quote Bevin, for the words are typical of the man:

"I have rather taken the view, over this question of so-called rebels, that some of the greatest events that have happened in the history of the British Empire . . . occurred when we had the good sense to meet a rebel and to settle with him."

The Nationalists, however, could not establish order or restrain their own supporters and clashes occurred when the British tried to fulfill their appointed task. They have kept the conversations going, and obviously brought some influence to bear on the Dutch to negotiate and keep at it. The accusation of British imperialism, or even of bolstering



Dutch imperialism, is contrary to all evidence. The British wanted to finish their job and go home. Regrettable local incidents did occur. But on broad policy I cannot see how they could have acted otherwise. If the slow negotiations come to a satisfactory settlement, it will largely be due to the British attitude.

It is important to have the record clear, because the Indonesian question has been the subject of anti-British propaganda for many months in every Communist paper in the world. The comparative success of that propaganda has been due in part to the doubts that the first weeks of apparent inaction in foreign policy had engendered, in part to the fact that people then could not believe, and did not want to believe what had become only too obvious since, namely, that the Soviet government was directing its powerful propaganda machine to hamper, to weaken, and if possible to break, the British Labor government.

### Greece

The part played by the British government in Greece is much less to its credit. There is plenty of evidence that its intentions were good, but that Mr. Bevin has allowed himself to be outmanoeuvred by the Greek royalists, to the detriment of the left. There was an embarrassing legacy from Churchill days of course, but the new British government did make real efforts to make the then Greek government more representative, and at first it seemed to succeed. The attitude taken by Bevin in November was sound. He accepted the advice of the Greek Regent that elections should be held in March, 1946, but that the plebiscite on the monarchy be delayed till 1948. He then tried to insist that immediate steps be taken toward the economic recovery of the country, for to Mr. Bevin economic considerations are always in the foreground. The deferring of the plebiscite evoked some bitter criticism from Mr. Churchill, who always had a weakness for kings, but Bevin stuck to his point and administered, in parliament, a direct rebuke to the king of Greece for political interference. That was in November, but the position deteriorated considerably afterwards, and it became clear that the progressive parties in Greece did not favor an election at the date set, that they did not believe it could be a fair election. Many of his own supporters advised Mr. Bevin to put off the elections. He did not do so. He said (Feb. 21):

"It is not my decision, it is their decision. If you want to stop this bickering between Great Allies about a particular country, in my view it is better to go through with it and get it done . . . There have been so many governments in Greece that I had a feeling it was far better to get the elections over and see what the opinion of the people is . . . I think that is the commonsense line of approach to the problem."

Unfortunately, common sense did not work. The parties of the left boycotted the election. For this, of course, they must bear the responsibility. The resulting government is reactionary. The plebiscite will now take place in September. The British government has had to agree, since the reports to them were that the elections were adequately run.

Whether the British troops stay or are withdrawn, Mr. Bevin can be accused of conniving at the election of a reactionary government. Such was certainly not his intention. His error was probably due in part to biased sources of information, and in part to a healthy dislike of interfering with the internal affairs of another country. But interference was inevitable, its direction was the thing that mattered. Having set a course that looked eminently sensible, he stuck to it when he should have been informed that it would not work.

### Spain

The same disinclination to interfere is in part responsible also for the British attitude to the Spanish question, and here there are better reasons for it. A sub-committee of the U.N.O. has recommended the severance of diplomatic relations with Franco. This the British have opposed. To suggest that Mr. Bevin or his colleagues have any sympathy with Franco is against all the evidence. Both he and the Prime Minister have expressed themselves quite vigorously on the subject, and their actions for many years prove their genuine hatred of the Spanish dictatorship. The British argument is that the severance of diplomatic relations will achieve nothing, but rather free Franco from the watchful eye of those same diplomats. This is probably true, and it is generally admitted that the French action in closing the frontier has not helped. But, although there is a good deal to be said for this point of view, yet it seems to ignore the importance of psychological warfare, not only against Spain. In view of the committee report, and certainly if the U.N.O. itself adopts it, the British government would probably be well advised to acquiesce in this international action, however ineffective, if only to deprive their own enemies of a propaganda weapon against them.

### Palestine

The question of Jewish immigration into Palestine is one of the thorniest, and from one point of view the most embarrassing, problems facing the British government. The Labor Party conference shortly before it took office, clearly expressed itself in favor of the Jewish national home in Palestine, and condemned the White paper of the then British government which stopped it. Naturally the hopes of Jews all over the world rose with the change of government. It is now not only a matter of Zionism, it is far more a question of finding a refuge for the survivors of Hitler's massacres in Poland and elsewhere, for the most persecuted victims of Nazism. The need is urgent, especially in view of the poor record of the Western countries, ourselves and the United States included, on this question of refugees.

The pledge was definite. Why has the Labor Cabinet not honored it? There is no secret about the reason. With their diminished resources, especially in manpower, and in their already precarious position in the Middle East, the British government was, and is, afraid that any large-scale Jewish immigration would set the Arab world aflame, and even more, that behind the Arab would stand the Soviet Union, ready with help of various kinds to embarrass the British by stirring up the Arabs. That the Soviets were in fact ready to do so, there can be very little doubt.

Hence the suggestion for an Anglo-American Commission to investigate the situation and report. They reported some weeks ago, their chief recommendation being to the effect that 100,000 Jews should now be admitted to Palestine. The British are still hesitating, have asked both sides to state their views (which are of course perfectly well known). Meanwhile Jewish extremists have got out of control and are indulging in all kinds of disorders, including the kidnapping of British officers. The Arabs threaten and thunder. Their leader, the collaborationist Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, has managed to escape from France to Cairo, and the situation is still deteriorating.

One can fully sympathize with British fears in this affair, yet the British have again in effect pledged themselves in principle to the report. Outbreaks of violence should not affect policy, and nothing is gained by mere keeping order, for underground organizations are hard to beat where the people are in sympathy with them. Every day much goodwill is

lost among the Jews, who have proved themselves during the war the only trustworthy allies of the British in that area.

If the government is in effect committed to the commission's report, nothing is gained, and much is lost, by delay. Armed help from the U. S. will in any case not be obtained, which is true, if unfair. And an accomplished fact might be less dangerous. Whether the government's fears are justified, or how far, we cannot know, yet one wonders whether the Arabs might not accept a fait accompli as well as this uncertainty. One also cannot but wonder whether, as in Greece, the British government can fully rely on its local sources of information. There are, no doubt, many loyal servants of their country and even of their government, in the diplomatic and colonial service, but loyalty does not dispel prejudice, and there are also many diplomats of the old school among them, who see the world through their top hat, or their brass hat, and inevitably get a distorted view of things.

#### *The U. N. O.*

I have selected these four matters for special treatment because they have received the widest publicity, and have been the most constant obstacles to understanding of British policy. It is time now to put them in perspective. Many other questions could and should be discussed at length, and we may remark in passing that even where the four 'Big' foreign secretaries agree, the resulting compromise—at Trieste for example or in South Tyrol—is not thereby made perfect or sacrosanct. But let us now pass to more general considerations.

The fundamental principle of British policy is a loyal attempt to build international goodwill and co-operation through the United Nations, and a willingness to give up a part of their national sovereignty, or rather to 'merge' it in a governmental organization at the international level of government. Within the United Nations Organization they have consistently stood for democratic development. They regard the United Nations Organization as the best available instrument at present for international understanding. "We must develop that instrument," Bevin has said, and he has made his ultimate aim quite plain, both in November and on June 4, when he stated:

"The basic aim of his Majesty's government in their foreign policy will be to make the United Nations Organization work effectively; all international questions which arise must be dealt with in relation to this new world fabric, which we are bent on weaving and ultimately making effective, and which some day—I do not know how soon—will draw its power direct from the will of the people.

"The common man, I think, is the great protection against war. The supreme act of government is the horrible duty of deciding matters which affect the life and death of the people. That power rests in this House as far as this country is concerned. I would merge that power into the great power of a directly elected world assembly . . ."

This same democratic outlook has led to a belief that all the problems of the world cannot be solved by the 'Big Four' or the 'Big Three'. "I cannot accept" said Bevin, "the view that all my policy and the policy of His Majesty's government must be entirely based on the 'Big Three'," and he emphasized that he would ever be ready to discuss the problems of any country, large or small, with the representatives of that country. This is sheer realism, for while good relations are essential between the big powers, any method that leaves all the power to them for good, can only lead to one end, via eternal big power politics to war. Democracy requires some power to be vested also in the smaller nations.

#### *Relations with Russia*

In this democratic attitude, Britain finds common ground with the U.S.A., and this is not surprising, since, on the political field, the two countries have much democratic experience in common. The Russian experience is, on the other hand, very different. Soviet policy is obviously more at home in a meeting of the big fellows, and the Russians hold that all the vital decisions should be taken there, difficult though she finds it even there to accept majority decisions. It was Russia that insisted on the veto, and Russia who used it, even on matters of procedure for which it was never intended. After agreeing to call a peace conference of the nations, it was the Russians who wanted to hamstring that conference by settling all their procedure beforehand. This deep difference of method, based on a totally different historical experience is natural enough, but, more than any amount of differences of interests and opinions, it makes agreement very difficult.

And yet the fact that Russian friendship is getting harder and harder to achieve, is a matter of very deep regret to the British people, to their government, not least to their foreign secretary. He still believes, as he told the House of Commons on June 4: "it is only if Russia enters freely into the European settlement that there can be any guarantee of permanent peace on the continent of Europe." The world press has built up a fancy picture of Ernest Bevin as a man of violent words, and an enemy of the Soviets. That picture is false. Strong language he does use at times, perhaps unnecessarily, but he sincerely desires friendship with Russia, and this is clear when incidents are put in focus. As Philip Noel Baker said: "Some day the press proprietors will learn that there are limitations to the proposition that only quarrels are news."

Bevin's speeches have the obvious ring of sincerity, but even anyone who has followed the press reports of the various meetings of security council and foreign secretaries must surely see that Bevin has again and again made efforts to meet his Russian colleagues halfway, for the most part in vain because they rarely come any of the way. And so often the Russians seem to be gratuitously awkward: the claim to sole trusteeship of Tripolitania, suddenly put forward and as suddenly withdrawn; the brief but tense war of nerves on Turkey; the refusal to agree to an allied commission of control to oversee the carrying out of armistice terms in Italy; the refusal to take any part in the food plans for the world; all these steps seem to be taken or these refusals made without any discernible concern for their rightness but as manoeuvrings for position only. And then that amazing refusal to send a Russian contingent to take part in the victory celebrations in London surely shows a complete lack of understanding, not only of governments but of people.

#### *European Waterways*

What seems so strange on the part of the Russians, as supposed Marxists, is the establishment of impassable military frontiers on the boundary of their own zones, without regard to economic factors. Now it is one of Mr. Bevin's most distinctive and valuable characteristics that he does think in economic rather than in political terms. He had been but a few weeks in office when he proposed a scheme for the development of European Waterways—the Rhine, the Elbe, the Danube—under the joint supervision of the great powers. Such a scheme would obviously have made a great contribution to European recovery. The Americans were sympathetic. It was Molotov who turned it down flat. The recent American proposals for the development of navigation along the Danube was a more restricted scheme of the same kind, also under an international commission. Again the Russians refused, and maintain that the control of navigation



remains, during the occupation, a matter for the military commanders of the different districts. It is clear that to them, military and political factors far outweigh all economic considerations. Mr. Bevin points to the urgent need for organized transportation in those areas, and exclaims almost in despair:

"I must confess that I do not feel happy because of some policy of some kind, which we do not understand, whole areas of Europe should go hungry because we will not agree to do the sensible thing and move grain and food freely through these great arteries. Let us fight that on some other basis, not on the bellies of the people should this political conflict take place."

#### *Germany*

The same attitudes are shown in Germany. The Potsdam agreement—itsself economically unsound because it limited German industrial output far below what made any reasonable standard of living possible—at least considered joint policies of control and administration of Germany as one whole. But it has not been carried out, largely because the Russians have kept their own zone, which includes the great food-growing districts of Eastern Germany, isolated and all but impenetrable. As a result, the British have had to feed their zone of occupation from foreign supplies, at a cost of £80 million, and some of their own short rations—thus in effect paying reparations to Germany of that amount—while the production of industry that might pay for this, is in their zone kept down by the original agreements.

Then consider the Ruhr valley. If it is returned to German control in the foreseeable future, precautions will have to be taken to restrict industrial output in this area that was, and is, the great industrial war potential of Germany. The French want to separate it from Germany altogether. Bevin envisioned it as working at full production under international control to help raise the standard of living of Europe as a whole, including Russia, loosely federated in a German federation perhaps later, but under international control. The French were beginning to be willing to consider this, but at this point the Russians declare themselves in favor of a united Germany, not now of course, not during the occupation, but later, when their claims for reparations are met. This, however, is sufficient to undermine any plans for the internationalization of the Ruhr. While all these consultations take place about the Western zones, there is no consultation about what happens in the East, all international intervention is opposed, and all criticism bitterly resented. The new American twenty-five year plan is rejected almost without consideration.

#### *Neighbors in Europe*

It is essential for Britain that she should maintain close trade relations with her immediate neighbors in Europe, with France, the Low countries and the Scandinavian countries, and an attempt to integrate their economies for mutual advantage would be highly beneficial to that part of the world. They all have much the same attitude to the fundamental problems of the day, which would make a close relationship easier. Yet any talk of closer relationship between these countries is denounced by the Soviet propaganda machine as the formation of a bloc against the Soviet Union, which, considering Soviet policy in the Baltic states, seems curiously inconsistent on their part. Close economic relations are vital to the future of both Britain and the West European democracies. Plans for it have been delayed by the hope that a true international settlement might still be possible. Mr. Bevin made it clear that he intended to make one great last attempt to achieve it at the conference of foreign ministers in July. It is now quite clear that that last effort has, in all

essentials, failed, in spite of agreement on some minor issues. The peace conference of nations is not intended or expected to do more than make peace with some of the minor belligerents. One never knows of course the value of such a conference as a forum of world opinion, and its importance might become greater than now appears, but this is at least doubtful, and in any case we shall know very soon.

For Britain cannot wait any longer. She must organize her own zone of occupation without the present restrictions. She simply cannot afford to go on paying reparations to Germany. She must also organize the trade and economy of Western Europe in co-operation with the countries involved. Whatever the Russians may say or think, these things are matters of absolute economic necessity.

#### *The Road Ahead*

In thus trying to reconstruct her own world and that of her neighbors, Britain will have to withstand political pressure from Russia and economic pressure from the United States, and both at the same time. It is highly regrettable that Russia has seen fit to concentrate her hostility against the Labor government of Britain and thus make the task of that government much harder, and harmony in Europe much less likely. Yes, it is regrettable, but it is not surprising, and that for two reasons: first, because Britain is both the only rival power and the only rival political philosophy in Europe; in the second place, because Communists have quite consistently over the years regarded democratic socialism as a danger and a menace. In this, I believe, they have made their most terrible mistake. But however that may be, the hostility of Russia to Britain must, for the present, be accepted as a fact. And this attitude will change only in so far as Britain builds up her strength sufficiently to command respect where friendship is at present not available.

I believe that the logic of events is forcing unilateral action upon a very reluctant British people, a very reluctant government, and a very reluctant foreign secretary who is both an internationalist and a socialist. They were ready for friendship with Russia, they still are, and they will continue to be, for at no point will their policy conflict with the real interests of Russia.

Such a policy as here suggested does not mean a Churchillian alliance with the United States. Indeed such an alliance is quite impossible for a socialist government; the economic pressures would be too great. Nor does it in any sense mean enmity to the Soviet Union. And it does not conflict with loyal membership in the United Nations Organization. It simply means a refusal to be pushed around any longer.

Indeed it implies, on the contrary, vigorous leadership of the democratic forces within the United Nations, less powerful democracies of which France is the greatest. It means also co-operation with the self-governing Dominions, especially those whose social and political outlook is akin to that of the mother country. (Canada here offers a special problem because of its very close economic ties with the United States and its continued enslavement to monopoly capitalism and the American way of life. Though even Canada might change.) Such a policy means also a determined and speeded up effort to change the colonial empire to free Dominions wherever possible, and the active administration for the good of the native in real earnest, for that is the good of all but the very few. This process we cannot discuss here, but the offer of genuine independence to India, the willingness to withdraw British troops from Egypt, are only the chief indications among many others that that process has already begun.

Britain faces a Herculean task; and there is not much time. That task will require vision, courage and determination.



The British people and their government have these qualities in abundance. It will require speed, and that may not be easy to attain. Yet if that general policy—it is admittedly a second best to genuine international understanding which the British are still pursuing—is tackled with both vision and audacity in a world where the United States is still constricted by the choking coils of big business exploitation and its attendant wastes, a world where the U.S.S.R. is faced with mighty tasks of reconstruction and development within its own orbit which are its first interests; then, in such a world it may still be the function of the British people and their Labor government to give decisive leadership to the democratic forces in the world, along with France and others, toward a better life of mutual understanding. It is not certainly so. What is certain, however, is that democracy will not find anywhere else among the big powers the decisive leadership needed to build a better world in our day and civilization. For without socialist democracy there will not be liberty, and without liberty there will not be peace on the threshold of the atomic age.

### *A Ballad for the Peace*

In the dead of winter  
A jewelled rooster crowed  
In the dead of night  
From the white roof-tops.

His comb was blue and green,  
His feathers darkly shone,  
In the winter night,  
The frosty pale night.

In the lonely world  
A jewelled rooster crowed;  
From their uneasy sleep  
The lonely people stirred.

From Moscow to Berlin,  
And London to New York,  
A high and fluted cry  
Pierced the winter night.

And did not let them sleep.  
For all, what could it be?  
Some familiar sound  
Across their frozen sleep—

"Awake, awake," it said,  
"Only the dead may sleep  
"Who sealed this bitter peace  
"In violence and blood

"By their castrated limbs  
"And their rifled wombs  
"From China to the last  
"Charred street in Leningrad."

In this quiet world  
On a winter night  
They will not forgive  
The monstrous sin of sleep

Or laggard memory;  
Ease cannot be bribed,  
Guilt cannot be paid,  
They will not forget.

In the dead of night  
A jewelled rooster crowed,  
His comb was blue and green,  
His feathers darkly shone.

*Miriam Waddington*

## The Significance of UNESCO

*Blodwen Davies*

► FOR SEVEN CENTURIES the needle of human directions has been veering slowly from the transcendental, round the dial to the immediate world of community. In the 13th century world-view man was a satellitic creature whose only hope was in submission to deific will as interpreted by a professional priesthood. Since then the world-view has been blurred and confused as man trudged his long journey from the 13th to the 20th centuries, for nothing incisive emerged to reward his courage and sacrifice in experimenting in search of true knowledge of the universe around him. Now this blurring has begun to dissolve and his idea of himself begins to take on an edge. The needle now points horizontally to the new pole star—the creative, responsible, participating man.

In the 13th century society was arranged neatly in a pyramidal hierarchy, with a broad base of serfs, narrowing toward a peak of an aristocracy, capped by the papal court at which even sovereigns were subjects. The gothic spire was a symbol of the hierarchical society. Today the world-view is man-centred and creates its own symbols, the council table, the commission of equals, the working committee. The new social ideal seems to be at the birthing in the functions outlined for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. The significance of UNESCO is something of which we should be alertly aware.

Every great age in history has its appropriate philosophy, the sum total of its knowledge, which accounts for its social and political character. Platonic Greece, Aristotelian Europe, Marxist Russia, Hitlerian Germany are examples of this. Some synthesizing mind formulates the fragmented thought of his age into a code of ideas, constructive or destructive, that bears his name. We stand in need of a new definition of the significance of this age.

Never before have the men and women who create and accumulate the social wisdom of an age deliberately and consciously banded together on an international level to fortify themselves by consultation and investigation, research and collective action on their own levels of professional work. In effect, this is exactly what the creative workers of the world have done in founding and forwarding the project we call UNESCO. Educationists, scientists and cultural workers have found common ground for their activities and responsibilities. It is not without significance that one of the greatest living biologists, Julian Huxley, teacher, researcher and essayist, is the executive head of the committee which is laying the foundations of UNESCO.

The United Nations Security Council, its social and economic organization, its atomic energy commission, its military staffs committee and its trusteeship council all represent national interests and problems of national relationships. They have to cope with a long history of conflicting claims and aspirations, with memories of antagonisms and injustices and frustrations. They have to deal with the fears and greeds and needs of masses of men everywhere. But UNESCO is something else. It has functions which are in some cases broader than UNO. While other divisions of UNO are struggling with physical and mundane problems of food and force and trade and the maintenance of peaceful conditions, UNESCO works on the levels on which the ideals of peace and co-operation and human welfare and the fulfillment of the individual human personality, are conceived and embodied. UNESCO formulates the possibilities, the emerg-

ing hopes, the intentions and determinations of creative humanity. It represents the pioneering and prophetic element in society in its collective world character. It is broader in its intentions than UNO, for a state not a member of UNO may become a member of UNESCO; a state which withdraws from UNO may continue to function within UNESCO. Only a nation expelled by the General Assembly is debarred. Since UNESCO is not primarily involved with controversial political and economic problems, there are greater chances of genuine collaboration between states even where political suspicions exist.

In education, science and cultural affairs the contributors in all lands have common non-competitive interests which enhance friendly relationships. Neither the soldier nor the competitive trader is likely to help in the mutual understanding of neighbor states; but the self-interests of the worker in education, science or cultural affairs can best be served by sharing and giving and mutual understanding. "Private enterprise" has no place here for there can be no private monopolies in creativity, no profit to be gained by cornering a market in music or poetry. These men and women creating UNESCO are necessarily, by the character of their work, the "givers" and not the "getters" of the world, those whose success is measured not by what they accumulate but by what they disperse. A teacher is successful only in terms of the numbers of other minds he has stimulated to independent action; a composer only in terms of the number of artists who understand and interpret his music; a scientist in terms of the verity of the laws he reveals to his fellowmen. No one can promote a company to produce new theories in education or significant painting or discovery in chemistry. In a word, the men and women who have given birth to UNESCO are those who operate on non-profit-making levels of society; nor are these activities marginal to society; they are central to it, dictating the quality of its civilization, its inventiveness, its social theories and its cultural values. They represent the people who not only desire a co-operative and just world structure, but whose total effort goes into the discovery and application of the fundamental laws of co-operative human living and creative human society.

The idea of UNESCO was born at San Francisco and provision for it made in the United Nations charter. Great Britain and France jointly issued an invitation to a preliminary conference at which forty-four nations participated in London in November in 1945. The UNESCO charter conceived at that conference aims at "an intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind" in which peace can be firmly rooted; it declares that the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace is indispensable for the dignity of man. Its constitution, which must be ratified by twenty nations before UNESCO officially comes into being, gives first place to "advancing mutual knowledge" and to "suggesting educational methods best suited to prepare the children of the world for the responsibilities of freedom, to preserving the cultural heritage of the world in books, works of art and science, to preserving the independence, integrity and diversity of the culture of the world."

In UNESCO there will be no "big four" or "little forty" for each nation has one vote; in the world of ideas, inventiveness does not arise in proportion to population or statistical wealth. Great teachers often come out of little countries and social experiments of wide application are as likely to emerge from Canada or Norway, as from Russia or the United States.

The primary thing is that the world wants clear, original ideas that point the way out of our prevalent confusions and frustrations. It wants creative and courageous leadership in ethics and values, in education and the arts, in the social and natural sciences. When these are available and the race

sees clearly the goals it believes desirable, the political and economic circumstances of our lives can be more readily made to conform with our hopes. Once the peoples of the world can agree on certain fundamental principles which must underlie the new society, the emotional tides of the race will sweep us forward. It is the confusion in our thinking and feeling that frustrates us now, so that a small minority in each country whose ambitions and intentions are incisive are able to have their way with our economic and political structures.

UNESCO aims at perpetuating the means for original thinking and fearless action by making one of its objectives "full and equal opportunity for education for all, unrestricted pursuit of objective truth and the exchange of ideas and knowledge." It amplifies this objective by making freedom of information a matter of primary concern insisting upon not only the right to education but "*protection of the child from perversion through false teachings.*" The implications in this latter statement would alone guarantee the positive character of UNESCO, as it faces the future.

Heretofore the contributions made to civilization by educationists, scientists and cultural workers have been considered auxiliary to the political and economic administration of society. Nor have the workers in these fields made any united effort at offsetting that general conception of the non-profit-making elements in society. But the logic of events has forced a change in point of view. Two types of individualism have been developing in the recent history of humanity. In one guise it is the "rugged individualism" represented in the Carnegie type, and similar supremely successful leaders of the age of expansion. This individualism became, of course, the most callous and ruthless exploitation. But there was another form of individualism, as there must be in this bi-polar universe of ours, the individualism demonstrated in the work of creative scientists, artists, philosophers, educationists and so on. These individualists ignored quietly all traditional thought and belief and expressed themselves as expansionists in the world of ideas and of pure objective knowledge. Julian Huxley is an example of this type. The logic of events drove the individualists in international capitalism into international cartels when the structure they had created became too great for control by individuals. On the other hand, it has also driven the educationists, scientists and cultural workers into the internationalism of UNESCO in an effort to protect the cultural structure which they have collectively created and which is so great that only collective activity can protect and maintain the fruits of our contemporary knowledge and ensure that they be applied to the welfare and not to the destruction of humanity. At last, the school teacher and the nuclear physicist have a common anxiety: the mere survival of men as free, participating persons.

Canada has already played a very important part in the preliminary work of UNESCO. In the future, maintaining her position within UNESCO will rest upon the warmth and sincerity of all the voluntary organizations whose interests are integrated with UNESCO objectives. This is not a matter in which government leads the way or is responsible for the outcome. UNESCO rests in the hands of citizens' organizations. If we believe in the ideal of the free, responsible, participating individual, this is where we can immediately demonstrate our convictions. The ratification of UNESCO by the Canadian parliament can be ensured only by forceful expression of opinion on the part of citizens' groups in the educational, scientific and cultural fields. The lead must come from these groups, not from Ottawa. Some form of a national inter-professional conference is required in order to provide for a Canadian Commission, amply representative of citizen activity, so that when the international conference

of UNESCO is called again in November, Canada will be prepared with ratification and with the Canadian Commission which will be responsible for providing delegates and technical workers for the job of putting UNESCO principles into practical activity. UNESCO is a challenge to our professed ideals in international democracy.

## The Inheritors

Where tom-tom drummed  
Stunning its wings  
Bold as the thunderbird,  
The cloud-clapped sky;  
Where beach fires blazed  
And totems camped  
Holding the village  
History high—

There came the dark ones  
Home to their dancing,  
To the sun's pulsing  
Rhythm vibrating,  
To bird wings drumming,  
Thunder creating.

There shrouding cedars  
And pointing pines  
Swayed in the circle  
Of curving thighs  
And sand's cool crescent  
Burned with the feet  
Of winged sun's leap  
And the tom-tom beat.

## II

Now it is vanished—  
Wrested away.  
The tide washes up  
Where children play.  
No carved bird watches  
The waiting sky;  
No thunder snatches  
The wind away.

But out on the smooth, the glistening curl  
Where foam-flecked footprints used to whirl,  
Far off the children, black as midgets,  
Dance in the crescent, plunge to the sun;  
Hearing the innermost pulse of a drumbeat  
Leaping and diving, in silhouette motion  
Circling and swaying, caught in creation,  
Caught in the echo of ancient music  
Throbbing on tom-tom, beating on treetop  
Over the mountains,  
Tolling in thunder!

Dorothy Livesay



## Radar's Peacetime Possibilities

Ross L. Holman

► THERE WAS probably no instrument of combat that played a more epic part in winning the war than radar. Its wartime deeds were so dramatic in their scope many scientists are planning to devote much of its combat usefulness to our peacetime needs. It is expected to make airplanes, seagoing vessels and all other forms of transportation far safer than they have ever been before. It will give meteorologists an instrument that will enable them to outguess the weather more efficiently than it has ever been done in the past. Astronomers will tune in on the stars and probably learn if Mars has any form of animal life or if the moon is made out of green cheese.

However, it would be hard to appraise radar's potential peacetime applications without reviewing some of its wartime accomplishments. Many times when the enemy was caught in a surprise situation and wondered what it was that hit him the answer was radar. Radar itself didn't deliver the knockout punch but it usually directed the aim.

Generally speaking, radar operates by means of two instruments—a transmitter and a receiver. The transmitter sends into space a form of radio signal known as a microwave that travels at the rate of 186,000 miles a second. If this signal strikes an object like an enemy plane, ship or submarine it bounces back like an echo into the receiver. After Dunkirk, England probably owed her salvation to radar more than to any other factor. With France already fallen and Britain carrying the burden of conflict against Germany alone she found radar one of the best answers yet to the war planner's prayer.

One thing the Nazi bombers couldn't understand was that whenever they came in force to shatter British cities they always found the RAF up in the air waiting for them when they arrived. Radar was new then and a deep military secret. But its signals could not only notify the ground operators when Nazi planes were on the way, but give them the distance, number of planes, how fast they were coming and even distinguish between enemy and friendly aircraft. The number of Britain's fighter planes was pitifully small at the time but radar enabled them to romp over Nazi bombers with devastating effect. That, in brief, is one reason why England in the early part of the conflict was able to accomplish "so much with so few."

This new instrument of warfare was used with telling effect in practically every phase of our struggle with both the Nazis and the Japs. In 1942, when allied ships were being sent to the bottom almost as fast as they could be made radar engineers worked desperately to develop this device into a counter weapon against enemy submarines. They came up with an airborne radar to guide planes quickly to surfaced submarines and send them to the bottom.

But the technique couldn't be kept from enemy intelligence forever. It learned that our planes couldn't detect their U-boats more than 8 miles away and so they revised their strategy accordingly and allied ship disaster took a new spurt. Then our laboratory technicians got busy and brought out a new aircraft radar called the "George," which could spot a submarine 25 nautical miles away. Not only that but it could paint a complete picture map on the tube. From this circular picture it was easy to tell not only the distance of a target but also its exact direction in degrees. Then



U-boats instead of Allied ships began hitting the ocean bottom at a startling rate and our transports again moved freely across the Atlantic.

But again the German countered with a submarine that could stay submerged for 30 days at a time with only a breathing tube sticking above the water, which the Allied fighters nicknamed the "Schnorkel." Our transports came up missing, but again our laboratories turned out a new radar that could detect the Schnorkel tube and destroy every schnorkel submarine on the high seas.

Our radar technique was used in precision bombing. While at first Allied bombers were frequently held at their bases for days and weeks at a time waiting for clear weather they could later take radar equipment and use pin-point bombing on German targets through clouds, rains, fog or smoke and bombing became a daily all-weather affair. Its eyes could see through them all. The new instrument for this work was called the "mickey." It enabled Allied bombers to pulverize Nazi U-boat pens at Wilhelmshaven. It helped them knock out the German ball-bearing works and aircraft factories, thereby dealing a deathblow to the Luftwaffe. It made it possible to shatter Nazi coastal defenses 30 minutes before the landing on Normandy.

One of the revolutionary developments with radar was the "Loran." In the vast stretches of the Pacific it was easy for an aviator to get lost. The Loran made it possible for the pilot of a plane to determine his exact position any moment and do it quickly. He could use his radar device to pick up signals from "master" and "slave" beacon stations on the ground even when these stations were 1500 miles away. Signals from the beacon stations would appear visibly on the tube and give the distance from the stations. Then by consulting a simple chart the pilot could tell exactly where he was at the moment. The planes that shattered Japan's war industries, including the ones that carried the atomic bombs, were equipped with the Loran.

Now, one can readily see from these wartime developments with radar the vast potentialities of its peacetime use. Ships and planes will be able to chart their courses safely and speedily over any part of the globe. Planes equipped with radar should never crash into mountains or collide with other planes. Their microwaves can feel their way ahead of any plane's flight and, regardless of darkness, fog or smoke, show the pilot any obstacle into which he might crash. There should never be any collision between ships at sea. If a radar's microwaves can spot a tiny object like a submarine schnorkel it goes without saying that it ought to give warning about every iceberg running around loose. With this device in operation on all seagoing vessels such calamities as the *Titanic* disaster of 1911 will be a thing of the past.

By means of microwave signals airplane travel should become one of the safest forms of transportation in our postwar world. Some of the airlines are already announcing a definite equipment program for their planes including electronic and radar aids. Ground stations by the hundreds will watch planes by the thousands all over the continent. It is entirely possible that aircraft will ride radar beams instead of the present radio beams.

But one of its greatest services will be in directing the safe landing of planes in all kinds of weather. Regardless of fog, clouds or visibility no flights need be cancelled and aircraft will land just as smoothly and accurately as they could on a balmy spring day lighted by a brilliant sun without a thunderhead in sight.

Regardless of how congested the air above any airport may be with ships, radar will see all these planes and keep

them off one another's backs. Each pilot with his radio and radar equipment will be "talked in" by a highly trained operator who will see it with his radar eyes through cloud, fog or darkness. The ground operator will give simple directions to each plane and bring in 50 flights as easily as a dozen under ordinary conditions.

The microwave signals of a radar combination give directions, distances and other facts with an accuracy that is uncanny. Let us assume that for our peacetime uses a freight plane loaded with an extremely valuable cargo is headed toward our continent from Europe. There is a delay in the ship's arrival that causes great concern. So the radar transmitter sends out microwave "tracers" to search the skies. A signal finally strikes the plane in flight and bounces back to the receiver. The signal is received on the screen of a cathode ray tube in the receiver. This screen is provided with a scale to show the distance the plane is away. This distance is computed by the time it takes the signal traveling at 186,000 miles to the second to strike the plane and bounce back. It is figured in a split millionth of a second and translated into miles on the screen scale. By watching the scale you see a horizontal image of the moving object reproduced. As the plane comes closer the image on the screen keeps pace with it showing fewer and fewer miles of distance.

In the early part of the year Lt.-Colonel John H. Dewitt from a New Jersey station created a mild sensation by announcing radar contact with the moon. When the little beam of harnessed lightning crashed against the moon's surface 238,000 miles away the echo came back to the New Jersey station in 2.4 seconds. This triumph of microwave communication between the earth and its satellite has caused many astronomers to see visions and dream dreams of unravelling planetary secrets they have never been able to fathom before. Some of them believe they can map the topography of this lunar body and maybe some of the nearer planets. They also see a possibility of making topographical maps of distant planets and learning whether life as we know it exists on any of them. Maybe also radar could be used in securing information about the composition and atmosphere of celestial bodies.

Finally, one of the greatest services this new science is expected to render mankind is in the field of weather forecasting. Radar will enable meteorologists to determine with far more accuracy the kind of weather that will hit us tomorrow or next week and pass the information on to government and to commercial interests whose welfare is influenced by the vagary of the elements.

It will be especially helpful in aeronautics to have a nationwide network of radar stations set up as an aid to airplane flights. The same stations can also advise pilots more accurately about the weather conditions they will encounter and how to dodge them. At every station a trained radar meteorologist operator can tell how thick a dangerous looking cloud layer is and a pilot instructed from a ground station where and how to dodge it or break out below it. The formation of storms could be watched and flights directed around them. The use of radar in feeling Old Man Weather's pulse is being tested out at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The Civil Aeronautics Board is trying out radar technique at Indianapolis to check the weather and direct air traffic.

It may, of course, be a few years before we feel the full impact of this war-pressured science on our peacetime economy. A lot more testing will have to be done, radar stations set up, operators trained and equipment manufactured.

There is always a lag of time between the birth of a new development and its adaptation to general public use. But radar is born and weaned and is now ready to go places.

## Beginnings of an Intellectual Life

*Wright E. Balfour*

◀ WHEN I was about four years old I started to make a kite. I had watched a neighborhood kid make one and I thought I had a pretty good idea how to do it.

I got some wood, a couple of sheets of paper, some string and a pot of paste. I got well started and was getting things in shape when I noticed my father watching me. His eyes took in every move I made. I soon became confused and awkward and began to do everything wrong.

Finally I started playing with the paste and not trying to finish the kite. Then my father came over and told me the things I had been doing wrong.

"In the first place," he said, "this kite's too small. It won't hold up more than fifty feet of string. What you want is a kite that'll really go somewhere. Something that'll take up five or six hundred feet of heavy twine."

"I don't want a big kite," I answered. "I just want to make this one and try it out."

"It'll never work," my father told me.

"I don't care if it doesn't," I replied. "I don't want it to fly. I just want to make it to try it out. George made one and it didn't fly, but for three days we had lots of fun making it."

Then he told me it was nonsense to make a kite that wouldn't fly. He said if a person was going to make a kite at all, they might as well make one that'd go smack up to the clouds and beyond. He said he had always wanted to make a big kite like that but he had never got around to it.

"But by God," he said, as if he was blaming me for keeping him from making a kite, "I'm going to make one now!"

So he shaved down some long strips of wood, got some tracing linen and boiled it out, got some wire and started on the kite.

He worked on the kite for three weeks. I got so impatient I was beginning to wonder if there would be any wind left in the world when he got it ready to fly.

He bought some extra heavy twine—two big cone-shaped rolls of it. He said he had a quarter of a mile of string in those two rolls, and if that wasn't enough, he'd get two more. He said he wasn't going to stop at any ordinary kite flying.

When he finished the kite, it stood over six feet high. It had no twisted-paper tail like most kites. Instead, it had another smaller kite on the end of it like the tail of a plane. My father said that it would take the place of the regulation tail. He was a great one for doing things in a way that nobody else would ever think of.

After the kite was ready to fly and the cord was attached, my father started waiting for the right kind of wind. Every day for days on end he'd take me out to the fields to see what kind of a wind there was. There were all kinds of winds up there during that time, but there wasn't any one kind that would satisfy him. If it wasn't the way the trees were blowing, it was something wrong with the looks of the clouds. If the clouds looked right, there'd be something

wrong with the sun. I don't know what kind of a wind he was looking for, but there seemed to be something wrong with the weather every day.

He was a hard man to please, it seemed, and it was enough to make a person go crazy. I couldn't see the point in having a kite so good and so big that you had to leave it around the house for weeks before you could fly it. I would rather have a kite that wouldn't fly at all than worry about one that wasn't like any other kite on earth.

One Sunday my father took me out to see what the wind looked like. He took me up onto a hill in a great big open field to look at the clouds.

I could see it was pretty windy just looking at the grass. It was running along in dark green waves, my father's trousers were flapping against his legs and a lot of bushes were dancing around in the gusts.

But my father was looking at the clouds. That's the part of the world he was most interested in because that's where he wanted to fly the kite. He didn't show much interest in the ground or even the tall trees.

"Well isn't that the damndest thing," he said after a long spell of squeezing his neck away back and squinting up into the heavens.

When I heard that I started to resign myself to another few weeks of waiting. Then he said something else.

"It's perfect. Perfect damned weather for flying kites or anything else. That kite'll go out of sight or I'm a Chinaman's uncle."

We went back to the house. Father roused up my mother out of the kitchen and told her to come on out and watch the kite. She left her work and put on her coat and hat while my father got his two rolls of twine and the kite.

He handed me the heavy cord and got the kite out onto the verandah. The first thing he did was to almost get blown away, the kite was so big and the wind was so strong. But he turned it so the wind couldn't get at it and we got it out into the field. My mother followed us and stood off to one side and hung onto her hat.

We went down to the far end of the field. My father told me to hold the kite while he let out some cord. He stretched out about fifty or sixty feet and then told me to hold the kite up as long as I could and run with it as far as I could, then give it a boost into the air.

"Are you ready?" he shouted from his end of the cord.

"Let's go!" I shouted back, and started to run toward him.

He broke out into a run, too, and pretty soon I couldn't keep up with him. I gave the kite a mighty heave into the air. My father kept running and the big kite took a few dips and swoops and lurched up into the air.

Father stopped running at the other end of the field and kept hauling on the cord and letting some out whenever he got a chance. The wind took it up higher and higher as he hauled on the rope and then let it out.

"How's that for a kite?" he shouted to mother. "This kite'll go out of sight or I'm a Dutchman's nephew."

The kite looked big for quite a while, but as father kept letting out more cord, it began to get small and far away. It didn't seem to be our kite any more. Only the cord straining at father's hand told us it was still our own captive bird.

Pretty soon we had to tie the second roll of cord onto the first. Mother tied a granny knot in her nervousness. Father cursed a bit and stamped his feet and made her tie it over again, telling her how to do it. All the time he kept an eye on the kite away up there and hauled at the cord every time it started to dip.

The second roll began to disappear even faster than the other one. The cord went up in a long shivering curve into the air and out of sight. Then away up in the clouds we could just make out a bobbing speck. Father was really flying that kite now. It looked as if it was up there for good.

"Get some more cord," he shouted suddenly.

"We've used it all," mother answered, getting all excited because father's face was red and he was working so hard.

"Get some from the neighbors. Get all you can," he called back over the noise of the wind in our ears. "And get strong stuff. It's got to be heavy cord."

"I'll see what I can do." Mother turned and ran across the field, her skirt blowing out to one side of her.

"Pretty good, eh?" father shouted.

"Can I hold it?" I asked.

He shook his head. "The damn thing'd drag you across the field. It might even take you up with it."

I noticed then that father was leaning back on the cord. His shoulders were a couple of feet back of his heels.

But I still wanted to hold that kite. I thought it would be fun to sail up into the air with it. I could see myself hanging onto the cord and looking down on our house and seeing the neighbors' kids looking up at me with their hands shading their eyes and their hair blowing in the wind. It would be enough to make a person famous for a long time.

Pretty soon Mother got back with some more cord. Father watched as she tied a brand new roll to the second. That roll soon went up with the others.

"Must be nearly half a mile of cord out there now," my father called out when he reached the end of the roll. His face looked wild with his hair blowing all over it. He was leaning back farther on the cord now and the wind seemed to be getting stronger. He was digging his heels into the sod and the kite was pulling him around more. He turned his face into the wind every now and again to get the hair out of his eyes.

I tried to see the kite, but all I could make out was little spots swimming around in front of my eyes. We couldn't see the kite at all. My father said he would send it out of sight and he did.

"Any more cord?" he shouted.

"Just one more roll," mother answered. "And it doesn't seem very strong."

"I'll get a mile of cord onto that kite if I have to break my back in the attempt," father shrieked across the field.

The wind was getting stronger and it was making a lot of noise in the trees. The clouds were racing across the sky. Big dark shadows were moving fast across the fields. My father didn't say anything more about the next roll of cord. He was getting into trouble with the stuff he had out already. It was cutting into his fingers and he had it twisted around both hands.

It started to pull him along. He leaned back farther and dug his heels harder into the earth. The wind was ballooning his shirt out in front of him. His pants were flapping against his legs. He was moving forward slowly and digging his heels into new places in the field. He tried to drag the heavy twine back, but it wouldn't give.

Twice his feet slipped and he started to run through the tall grass. But each time he got a new grip on the ground and he bent back farther. He was fighting the wind with all his strength.

I hardly noticed what was going on when it happened. The wind got stronger and things began to whip past us in the air. The trees heeled over slowly like great horses heads bowing majestically in the circus. The clouds seemed to sweep in giant curving arcs up to the sun. The whole day's

weather seemed to be working up into one dazzling climax of wild, hissing noise and activity. Father looked small and shivering down at the end of the field. He was trying to get back to the middle. He was pulling harder than ever when he just seemed to disappear. He was there one minute, and the next he was gone.

My mother screamed out in surprise. She ran past me to where father had been. I ran after her and saw my father getting up slowly from the tall grass and rubbing the seat of his pants and the back of his head.

He didn't cuss or stamp on the ground. He just looked at the limp cord in his hand and started to laugh. My mother started to laugh, too. Pretty soon all three of us were laughing there in the field where the wind was just about taking us along with it.

My father coiled in the cord and said that somebody a few miles away was going to be in a dollar's worth of cord and one of the fightingest kites ever constructed by mortal man. We made our way back home to lunch as soon as Father had hauled in about seventy-five feet of cord.

I often thought of that kite and I was always surprised to think of a big thing like that going right up amongst the clouds and disappearing the way it did.

My father never made another kite, and I didn't get the urge to make one for myself. Just thinking of that one was enough for me.

## How Australia Helps Its Writers

### Nettie Palmer

► SINCE its reorganization in 1939, the Commonwealth Literary Fund in Australia has been rather widely discussed and not always understood. It is a partial experiment in the safeguarding of literary development in a new country.

At some period in its growth, every new country asks itself: Have we a literature of our own? Or is our writers' work only a part of that belonging to the mother country? Or to some other country more advanced in culture? Do we need a literature of our own?

Australia's geographical position induces in its people a habit of surveying the rest of the world, and we had been asking these questions for only a few years when we became conscious that the same questions were issuing in different accents or languages from young countries all over the world, and from older countries where a change in language or government has meant some sort of a fresh start: in the United States and Switzerland and Sweden and Canada and Latin America.

In Latin America: "Is there an Argentinian literature, or are we doomed to produce, for instance, belated echoes of French literature in Spanish?" In Switzerland: "Have we any modern literature of our own, in any of our languages?" In the United States there has been an assured answer for a considerable time; so that when it ran a specially full tide just after the last war it could be called a renaissance. But the States has been a new country for a long while.

By the time a young country asks itself whether it has a literature of its own, the rudiments of one are certain to exist; the only danger is that the question may have been delayed too long, and some good ground lost. To put the question, though, at any time, is to inject vigor into incipient



and hesitant movements, to bring something of a healthy flush to what a Canadian critic\* recently called "a national pallor." In Australia, the first flush came, the first concept of a national literature as such was expressed—by forward-looking poets, of course—when the Commonwealth was founded at the turn of this century.

The concept was accepted to some extent by politicians soon after, and the Commonwealth Literary Fund, in its initial form, was established in 1907. Its objects were to bring aid to writers or their dependents made helpless by age or illness. It differed in its plan from the English Civil List because it was rarely employed to do honor to a practising writer; it was used for compassionate grants, which are, of course, still needed in many cases. The Fund as then operated went no distance toward guaranteeing that any serious writer could exercise the fullness of his talent; and it did nothing toward preserving what literature had been produced in the course of our country's growth, or toward encouraging future efforts.

By a conjunction of desires and opinions—and not without the intervention of human effort over a long period—the purposes, size and scope of the Literary Fund were enlarged; and in 1939 it began to function in its new ways. From being chiefly a compassionate fund it became an instrument of construction, working for the advancement of literature. Unfortunately the date of these new activities almost coincided with that of the war, which of course limited where it did not halt them. The ending of the war now lets us expect fuller operations soon, and also gives a convenient point for a glance back over the few years and what has been attempted.

The Commonwealth Literary Fund, as reorganized, is administered by a Government committee advised by a Board appointed by the Government, several members of the Board being actually, if not in principle, chosen from recognized practising writers with a knowledge of our literary history and an appreciation of our literary needs.

Literary growth demands the prevention of literary waste. The Board has interpreted this, in practice, as the reviving and republication of necessary books, the encouragement and sometimes the commissioning of books on our literary history and its makers; and, for the future, the guaranteed publication of any book that has been refused by publishers on commercial and not literary grounds. That is, if a manuscript has literary importance but is considered to be a poor seller, the Fund guarantees the publisher against loss. In addition, the Fund has subsidized the giving of lectures on some aspects of Australian Literature in the Universities throughout the Commonwealth.

This has meant in some instances "bringing the students in touch with the writer;" in others, presentation by a staff member of some literary thesis to a mixed audience gathered at the university. At any rate it has involved an admission that the writing of our own country exists as a subject for discussion: that, in fact, to use as analogy the title Dr. Seidel Canby gave to a series of lectures delivered in Australia recently on American Literature, we are all concerned in seeing "How Australian writing becomes Australian literature."

A further device of the Board, in the direction of preventing waste among present-day writers of proven talent and purpose, is the granting of fellowships, for a year or less. These consist of a small living allowance intended to free the writer from the need to earn the basic necessities for a few months, devoting himself instead to some literary task.

Such were roughly the proposals, the plans of the Board in 1939. How have they worked out? Taking the last-mentioned first, it is felt that while the fellowships have borne some fruit, the whole scheme was weakened by the war. Writers who had planned some work under fellowship conditions felt compelled to abandon it and undertake some quite different task related to the war; others had not even applied for a fellowship, their minds and time being fully occupied already. But even in wartime, there were certain mature writers whose plans could include some writing; and one of these, almost the first to take a fellowship, has just addressed a statement to the Literary Fund, which in its fine spirit, concerns not only his own case. It is to be published in his forthcoming book.

This is his acknowledgment:

"A few years ago I was granted a year's Fellowship by the Commonwealth Literary Fund to carry out certain work. This is the first opportunity I have had to make suitable acknowledgment. I am hoping that this book will be taken as completing the undertaking . . . This is not the novel I had in mind—perhaps it is a better one—but it accrues from the year in which I had time to work and grow and for which I am grateful to my fellow-citizens and to the community of letters."

But the other functions of the Fund? The long-term plan of reprinting the few necessary "forerunner" books has been little more than begun. What matters is that there is no doubt of its gradual fulfillment. It is the same with the edited books of anthologies; the list of these, completed and published, so far comprises only a few titles; some have been prepared and approved but their publication postponed until "after the war." Nevertheless, the scattered and largely unobtainable works of several acknowledged and veteran poets have been collected, edited and published in definitive form. These volumes, long overdue, have not only proved successful but have gone into several editions—a fact which indicates that the impetus given by the Fund was valid.

Even in wartime, then, there have been no backward steps, merely some delay. One piece of revival was undertaken partly on account of war conditions. Australian and Allied service men were asking as never before for books on and of Australia; it was found that hardly any of our most important and even popular books were in print. The Advisory Board therefore drew up a first list of recommended books that could expect a circulation, and entrusted their publication, in large editions, to different publishers who brought them out in an almost uniform style similar to the Penguin volumes: this is known as the Australian Pocket Library. It was unfortunate that it was not ready in time to assuage the worst book-hunger of the war years; but the experiment has been justified by the results and will be continued.

The Commonwealth Literary Fund's benefactions cannot compare with, say, the munificence of private foundations in the U.S.A., nor, to name a small country, with that of the Authors' Association that the Swiss Government has endowed. Possibly the value of the Fund lies less in the amount of money concerned than in the logic and continuity of its planning, its work through recommendations and guarantees. It has been able to suggest and even to demonstrate to the publishing and bookselling trades as well as the librarians and readers, that the recognition of literary values in a young country is not without practical importance.

As for writers themselves, they have now a growing conviction that, once or twice in their lives perhaps, they may write 'all out', finding what they have in them to do.

\* Leon Edel in *Canadian Accent* (Penguin Books).

# CORRESPONDENCE

## Labor's Foreign Policy

The Editor:

In his review of Cole's pamphlet, *Labor's Foreign Policy*, Professor Underhill tells us that the U.S.S.R. is enemy number one to democratic socialists the world over. Coming not from Claire Booth Luce, nor even from some clumsy apologist for Bevinism, but from one of the most respected and loved leaders of the Canadian socialist movement, this is most disturbing. It compels at least a few brief comments:

1. This is Churchill's Fulton speech translated into the idiom of social democracy. It means the Anglo-American bloc against the U.S.S.R.; and it can only be a matter of years before this "against" must mean war.
2. Professor Underhill denounced collaboration with capitalism when advocated by Browder & Co. as a war measure to defeat fascism. He now himself advocates "cordial co-operation" with "North American 'capitalism'" as a peace measure to defeat communism.
3. The tragic disunity of the labor movement here reaches its most destructive (and self-destructive) peak: The socialist column is asked to fall in behind "North American 'capitalism'" to fight a country which, with all its faults, is the only socialist state in existence today.
4. Our differences with Sovietism are profound; we don't want a Stalinist, or any other, dictatorship as the price of socialism in the West. Does that mean that our differences with capitalism are less profound? Stalin has nothing to lose from the socialization of Britain. British capitalism has everything to lose.
5. It is an easy error, and unworthy of a historian, to overlook the uneasy union between the "Western tradition" (respect for the individual, freedom of speech, etc.) and capitalism. In a period of expanding capitalism the Western European tradition has indeed made vast gains. But what happens when capitalism must fight its last ditch battle for survival? What happened to respect for the individual, freedom of speech, etc., in Hitler's Germany?
6. Russia's political dictatorship goes against the grain of the Western tradition. But this should not blind us to the momentous achievements of the U.S.S.R. in bringing to East-European and Asiatic lands parts of the Western tradition which have come slowly in the West and other parts which have still to arrive in the West. To liquidate illiteracy in a generation is to do something for the dignity of the individual. To make pogroms unthinkable, and build a world in which a black skin or a non-Aryan name is not a personal and social disability, is also to do something for the dignity of the individual.

GREGORY VLASTOS, Kingston, Ont.

The Editor: With reference to Frank H. Underhill's review of *Labor's Foreign Policy* by G. D. H. Cole, I am one "Canadian looking at Mr. Cole's arguments from across the Atlantic who does not feel bound to raise two objections," nor one either, for that matter. Whenever the United Kingdom, labor government or no labor government, the U.S.A. and Canada, "accept any kind of Western unity which is not open to their interference or under their control," I should be pleased to hear of it. Was it not as recently as the June issue of *The Canadian Forum* that the article "Czechoslovakia in Transition" pointed out that all offers of needed loans to Czechoslovakia by the Western democracies were dependent on a retreat on the part of Czechoslovakia from her policy of nationalization of industry? How

is that for interference? I doubt if even Russia could do better or would try to do better.

Further, I, for one, certainly cannot accept, as readily as Mr. Underhill apparently can, Mr. Cole's "list of characteristics distinguishing the Western European tradition from the Russian." Take "toleration of differences" for instance. Russia's toleration of racial differences certainly compares very favorably with that of the U.S.A. As for "the practice of settling policies and programs by free discussion," Russia certainly orders her industrial and internal economic life by this method. The Western democracies, on the other hand, do not. They prefer, as in Canada, to hold their seamen to a twelve-hour working day and subject them to police bullying when they strike to enforce their demands. Where were Canada's "legal safeguards for the individual against the government" at the time of the recent espionage hearings? Russia's faults in this regard are certainly no more glaring than those of our own country. It is pure presumption on the part of Mr. Cole to list the above as characteristics distinguishing the Western democracies from Russian Communism.

If Western Europe, including the United Kingdom, cannot survive with its present traditions, in the face of constant Russian pressure unless it co-operates cordially with America, it will have to alter its traditions. American capitalism, like the adder, is more of a menace in itself than a protection from any other menace.

PALMER L. BARTON, Weston, Ont.

## Canadian War Art

The Editor: After spending half an hour in queue at the opening night of the Exhibition of Canadian War Art at the National Gallery wondering if my American friend could swallow her good republican principles sufficiently to curtsy to the Governor General I turned with anticipatory national pride to look at the pictures. For every good Canadian knows that though our national culture otherwise may be in a bad way (actually it isn't in nearly so bad a way as we like to think) we have a genuine Canadian art. I was let down. With few exceptions the pictures are a disappointing lot.

Of course with such competent people as Comfort, Ogilvie, Pepper, Goldhammer, and Schaefer represented the exhibition is well worth seeing, but War and Art seem to have got in each other's way, so that to one who admittedly knows next to nothing of either, the pictures represent by and large neither the one nor the other and certainly not a synthesis of both.

Talking with Canadian war artists one realizes that they recognized the difficulties and were challenged by them, but looking at their pictures one wonders that this was so. If there was a challenge they certainly haven't met it, and few of the pictures look as if their painters had even struggled to accept the challenge. To my mind the sketches succeeded better than the pictures. Will Ogilvie's crayon "Refugees" has an impact his more finished pictures lack. The section devoted to RCAF pictures seemed to me at once more satisfying and more illuminating for the very reason that a number of them were not finished oil paintings. Also of course a very great number of them were by Carl Schaefer and he has used his heavy water color technique very effectively to depict the clean aeroplane line against a background of heavy atmospherics that gives at least a feeling of gloom and portent to his pictures. But one can't help asking why, having done this so supremely well, he doesn't try something just a little harder.

In some of the pictures (dare one who knows as little as I say especially among those less well-equipped technically?) one does see the effort to rise to the emotional as well as artistic challenge of war. Nichols and Bayefsky are those I would mention. But here again I didn't feel Bayefsky's grim Belsen pictures had the emotional content of his little sketch, "Destruction, Nieumunster, No. 5." Michael Forster, apparently only a Canadian by adoption, who has a little room to himself in the naval part of the show, has some very interesting pictures. His technique is so refreshingly different from the others that one wonders at first whether he has succeeded in finding the synthesis others had failed to find between War and Art. I don't think so, though admittedly he has found a way to translate into oils the effects of artificial light and bomb explosions which seem to have reduced most of the others to feeble imitations of chromo.

There are other good pictures, though some of them can hardly be called war pictures. They may be rather in the neo-group of seven style but Leonard Brook's "St. John Harbor" and Cloutier's "Ferrying Supplies in Brigg Harbor" were welcome sights, though Cloutier's companion picture "Radar Unit, Brigg Harbor," seemed to me to show this promising artist's alarmingly uncertain use of color.

Then again some of the purely illustrative pictures (one can almost see them in future Canadian text-books) fulfilled what must have been one of the functions of the war artist—a fairly factual record of the war. Comfort's "Battle Scene, Berardi Road," and Pepper's "German Prisoners of War in Cage" were among these.

But surely this wasn't the only intention of the war artists as it certainly wasn't the hope of many of those attending the exhibition. Film units can and have done a superb job of factual record. We hoped for something more from the artists. Some as I have said seem to have tried for something more; some, I will stick my neck out, don't seem equipped to do anything else; none, I would venture, have produced a first-class bit of Canadian war art. Perhaps they haven't had time. Certainly there is nothing at the National Gallery remotely approaching Guernica; nothing even as good as the Wyndham Lewis last war pictures on the ground floor. Perhaps there will be eventually; on the other hand perhaps we have spoiled our artists just a bit; not materially, Heaven knows the road there is still as hard as anyone could wish, but perhaps too many of them have moved too long in a self-congratulatory little circle and are too content with the levels they have reached to struggle with further challenges.

H. J., Ottawa, Ont.

## Farm Report

There were no apples that summer  
And the grapes, hanging heavy  
Were frozen while still half-green.  
Spring had come early, warm days unfolding  
Sudden spring of green leaves and blossom;  
Then chill days again and petals arrested,  
Bees hive-bound until too late,  
And so the harvest was ruined.  
Spring, two-swiftly ripening  
Spoiled our fruit crop.  
Disappointment was keen;  
We had hoped for the best.

Edna Ford

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

### Canada Looks Abroad

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION ABROAD — From Agency to Embassy: H. Gordon Skilling; Ryerson; pp. 359; \$3.50.

Gordon Skilling is a Toronto graduate who has done post-graduate work in Oxford and London, has worked with both the BBC and the CBC, and is now a member of the Political Science department in the University of Wisconsin. This volume of his is one of the best that has been brought out under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. It is a history of the development of the machinery with which the Canadian government has gradually equipped itself for conducting its relations with the outer world. The development began with the trade and immigration agents immediately after Confederation, and it has culminated in the still-growing system of diplomatic representation of the present day. Mr. Skilling shows how this "right of embassy" became necessary with our growing economic and political contacts in different parts of the world. He has interesting chapters on the story of the High Commissionership in London, on the events which led to the Canadian ambassadorship in Washington, on Canada's connection with the League of Nations, and on the recent proliferation of embassies all over the world.

One main argument which runs all through the book is that each successive step in this process, which we can now see to have been a continuous growth, was taken to meet immediate practical needs rather than to realize any abstract idea of self-government. He is especially good in explaining why Mr. King's conception of a separate independent Canadian diplomatic service, responsible only to the Canadian government, won its way against the Conservative Opposition which favored a single British-Empire service. He gives a full account of the discussions which have been taking place on these issues ever since the Confederation period. The aspect of our Canadian history with which the book deals has long needed a full study, and this is a very satisfactory one indeed. F.H.U.

### The Atomic Age

ATOMIC FUTURE: Dyson Carter; Province of Saskatchewan (Study Action Outline No. 6); pp. 48.

THE ATOMIC AGE: Aaron Levenstein; League for Industrial Democracy; pp. 39; 20c.

It seems odd on the face of it that the only people who are interested in staying in the land of the living are the writers for the leftist press. Just why they have so much to live for is not immediately apparent, but it is certain that most of the shouts of havoc are from left of centre sources. These two pamphlets, the first issued as a guide for discussion groups by the Province of Saskatchewan, and the second by the League for Industrial Democracy in New York, are both concerned with atomic energy in its social and economic relations. Dyson Carter's pamphlet is a primer on atomic energy, covering the ground, but treating each subject in a very sketchy manner. As its title suggests, it is an outline of the subject and therefore is troubled by the common difficulty that complicated subjects can be reduced to their simplest terms usually only at the expense of truth. Thus some of his generalizations about the influence of steam power on eighteenth century England are so oversimplified as to give a false impression. But with this reservation the



pamphlet is interesting and stimulating, and will be found well suited to the purpose for which it was designed. Mr. Carter has gathered all the main ideas on the nature, manufacture, economics, politics, technology and sociology of the bomb and its by-products, and has explained them in simple terms.

Mr. Levenstein's pamphlet attempts a more detailed treatment of the social consequences of the release of atomic energy. As he sees it, the possibilities are three; the world may refresh itself with another war, and thus bring things to a spectacular conclusion, or atomic power may be grabbed by the great industrial monopolies to increase their power and reduce the workman to slave status, or the common people of the world may awake from their lethargy and demand state control of atomic energy, and a commonwealth of nations to control the bomb. Whether this third possibility is a serious contender may be doubted, but the author introduces it with a convincing air of hope, and goes so far as to outline the responsibilities of the proposed federal agency entrusted with the control of atomic power. Messrs. Carter and Levenstein and many others have written most convincingly about what is going to happen to us, but the average citizen, by whom and for whom high policy is made, is not interested. Going into the second year of the new era we have a world full of all the old selfishness and stupidity, all the old quarrels (heightened somewhat in their acerbity by the unparalleled brutality of the late war), and all the nationalistic frenzy whose only possible outlet is war. With such evidence all around them thoughtful citizens (even those well-provided with lead suits and sub-cellers) may be excused for not making any long-term plans. *J. J. Brown.*

**THE BIRTH AND DEATH OF THE SUN:** George Gamow; Penguin (P4, Pelican Books); pp. 219; 40c in Canada.

It is not often that popular books on science are a pleasure to read. The authors, if they know much about science, seldom have enough general culture to enable them to write; and if they are good writers, they seldom know much about science. Professor Gamow's book is a pleasant exception to this rule. He is a cultured European, and knows how to explain things simply in adequate prose; his authority as a scientist is unquestionable, and modern theoretical physics is indebted to him for several important contributions.

This book was first published in 1940, before the disclosure of the release of atomic energy, and the present edition in the Penguin series adds a new chapter and other changes bringing the reader up to date on this development. In either edition the book is a highly satisfactory addition to the library of any intelligent non-scientist who wishes to understand the essentials of modern theories about the structure of matter.

Gamow begins with the fact that the sun is the basic producer of energy for the world, because in the last analysis hydro electric and all other common sources of power depend on its heat. The sun's rays, for instance, vaporize the water of the oceans, and the vapors are deposited on mountain tops in the form of rain or snow. This water flowing to a lower level is made to do work and generate various kinds of power. The immense amount of energy generated in the sun is the result of a transmutation of elements similar to that used in the atomic bomb, but in the case of the sun the direction of change is reversed. Instead of splitting a single element into two, the sun unites four elements into one. In either case vast amounts of energy are produced. This transmutation of elements is the basic energy-producing

method of the universe, and the radiation from the stars reaching us now is the result of nuclear reactions which happened thousands of years ago.

With the disintegration of atoms as his starting point, Gamow explains the nature and history of our own sun, and then outlines the various theories about the formation and eventual fate of the universe in which we live. Although the organization of the material is perhaps not as logical as one would expect from a scientist, the book on the whole is interesting and valuable, and gives a picture of the physical world in terms a layman can understand.

*J. J. Brown.*

### Radio in America

**RADIO'S SECOND CHANCE:** Charles A. Siepmann; McClelland & Stewart Ltd. (Little, Brown); pp. 282; \$3.00.

Books and articles criticizing radio in the United States are steadily increasing in number, and they are not all the output of "crusaders" or writers for the liberal weeklies. Even a magazine so friendly to business as *Life* recently devoted a page editorial to excoriating the kind of radio fare that the private profit system, now concentrated largely in four great network companies, is feeding the American public.

The present book by an experienced radio man, formerly employed by the BBC in his native England, but of late years closely connected with broadcasting in the United States, and sometime advisor to the FCC, sums it all up in the most devastating indictment of American radio yet published. He examines in detail the debasement that commercialism has brought to radio, its subjection to the advertiser's viewpoint and interests, the concentration of power in irresponsible hands, and the helplessness of the Federal Communications Commission to achieve any reform.

These facts, though now so familiar, can always bear re-statement. The startling thing about this book is the author's satisfaction with the system which has, by his own showing, completely debauched a powerful instrument for pleasure and enlightenment. He uses the term "the radio industry" as implying an acceptable view of how broadcasting should be conducted, and states specifically: "I start from the premise that the system is basically sound, much of the output good, some of it the best in the world." And his recipe for reform is: "First, that in the public interest the advocates of our commercial system must submit to regulation beyond the self-regulation they may themselves impose; second, that in the public interest, they must be debarred from an exclusive monopoly of the field if, as is now possible, room can be found on the highways of the air for those whose interest in the transmission of ideas and information is other than commercial. Given these conditions, the continuance of commercial radio presents no threat to our society." Yet the whole book shows the impossibility of harmonizing such control with the commercial motive.

The author's hope lies in the coming of Frequency Modulation, making possible a proliferation of low-power stations. This is the "second chance" referred to in the title. But in speaking of "radio's second chance" the author reveals a curious tendency to regard radio as a self-motivating personality rather than the mere instrument it is. It is really the public's second chance, not "radio's." And Mr. Siepmann has himself provided his public with every factual basis for concluding that this "second chance" will prove a chimera unless the public goes much farther than he contemplates in purging radio from the commercial motives which now govern its character in "the land of the free."

*R. B. Tolbridge.*

## The Case for Socialism

GO LEFT, YOUNG MAN: Leslie E. Wismer; Bellman, (Toronto 1946); pp. 127; cloth, \$1.50; paper, 50c.

The case for socialism needs to be presented simply and in Canadian terms. This is what Mr. Wismer, CCF ex-M.P.P. for Riverdale in the last Ontario legislature and ex-Flight Lieutenant, tries to do in this little book, and with considerable success. It is a good book to put in the hands of the hesitant and the doubtful who are uncomfortably aware of their responsibilities as citizens, but are frightened by words and bogeys, or just plain lazy. It is a good case put in simple language, and explains clearly the meaning of such phrases as "production for use and not for profit," "social ownership of the means of production," etc. The tone is neither didactic nor condescending, but pleasantly conversational, from person to person. Even the reader who is not quite convinced—for that often takes more time—should, after reading it, be more likely to think for himself, which is good.

A few simple figures show clearly how the vast majority of Canadians whether on the farm, in the factory or in the office, admittedly live far below any reasonable standard of health and comfort, in spite of the fact that we have all the resources to provide a reasonable standard for all. Mr. Wismer then shows the reasons why: the inadequate share of the values produced paid out in wages or prices to the agricultural as well as the industrial producer, the perpetual siphoning off of profit into the pockets of a few, the divorce of the worker from his means of production so immensely increased by the growth of big modern industry: all these inevitable factors in a capitalist economy make it quite impossible for the present stage of monopoly enterprise to distribute wealth adequately, and therefore even to produce it—except in time of war when it is not left to itself.

The solution is shown to lie in the return of the means of production into the hands of the people by public or co-operative ownership, which will make it possible to produce what is needed. A good many bogeys are quietly debunked on the way, and the author takes special pains to show the essential identity of interest between farmer and factory-worker, who both can only come into their own by following the path of democratic socialism, at least to cover the monopolized section of the economy. Perhaps at this point the argument is no longer as concrete as at the beginning (though my summary is certainly even less so); one might have wished for definite examples of monopolies to be socialized. The author may have felt that the general position had to be established first. In any case, the reader who accepts the central thesis, even in part, will take the next step for himself. Attention is drawn to the successful experience of New Zealand, Australia, Saskatchewan and now Britain. Though the CCF is not specifically mentioned, the author leaves no doubt as to where he advises his young man to go.

We need more books of this kind in Canada, more simple expositions that are neither heavy reading nor party propaganda, and I hope this little booklet will be as widely read as it deserves. It is essentially a book to pass on to others after reading it.

G. M. A. Grube.

## The State and Insurance

LIFE INSURANCE WITHOUT EXPLOITATION: Edwin C. Guillet; Hess Trade Typesetting Co.; pp. 136; \$1.00.

Some time ago the CCF national office raised the question of life insurance and began to press the policy of socialization. There is not another field of business activity which so loudly cries out for socialization as does life insurance, but the CCF

seems of late to have lost interest in the subject. Here is a booklet which should revive its interest. When the issue was previously raised, the private companies and their tame newspaper press immediately set to work to confuse the public mind by shouting that the CCF proposed to rob the individual investor of his policies. This was, of course, a gross misrepresentation. The buying of protection for one's dependents against the danger of death is something that everyone should be encouraged to do. The case against the present system of life insurance by private corporations (whether they are "mutual" or not does not matter much) is simply that they charge too much for the service they render and that a state system could give better service at lower cost.

Mr. Guillet presents all the arguments, well buttressed by detailed illustrations, which make up the indictment against the private companies. These arguments have long been well known to anyone who has taken the trouble to study the question, but they are unfortunately still largely unknown to the general Canadian public. He shows that what we should be buying is renewable term insurance, but that this is the type of policy which the companies do their best to prevent us from buying; that the various forms of endowment insurance (in which protection is combined with "investment") work out as a rule much more to the benefit of the company than of the ignorant investor; that an unduly high proportion of premiums goes into the agents' commissions; that the wastage from the lapsing of policies which over-eager agents have induced clients to take is enormous—and at the expense of the investor; and that the "industrial insurance" which is sold to the poorer classes is the most expensive of all, as Sir William Beveridge had already showed in his famous Report on Britain. He shows also how much cheaper insurance is when bought through savings banks as in the Massachusetts system, or from companies who do not employ agents. The insurance companies will probably meet all this with silence. CCF'ers should get the book and make themselves familiar with it.

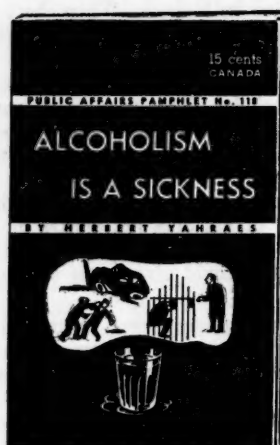
Frank H. Underhill.

## Corporation and Society

CONCEPT OF THE CORPORATION: Peter F. Drucker; Longmans, Green & Co. (John Day); pp. 290; \$4.50.

Mr. Drucker deals with an important problem of industrial society and attempts to find a path through the jungle of capital-labor relations. But not simply as conciliator between rival groups or even as apologist for big business which is the usual fashion these days. The author has set himself a far more ambitious task, nothing less than the provision of a new philosophy which will encompass the strained relations of the present industrial era and provide a "moral" justification for the big corporation. It is not enough to recognize its existence. It must be seen also as a social good.

"To understand that the modern large corporation is the representative institution of our society," is the keynote of this book and to accomplish his purpose the author weaves many fanciful threads which are gathered into four major parts: Capitalism in One Country, The Corporation as Human Effort, The Corporation as a Social Institution, Economic Policy in an Industrial Society. There is a great deal that is interesting in the material adduced. The author went to General Motors, the giant corporation of them all, for his industrial research and then spread himself handsomely to give a social philosophy to what he had learned. It seems that the great promise and vitality of the big corporation and what gives it a social coherence is due to its 'decentralization,' which means the spread of opportunity over



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the widest area in both an economic and social sense. Junior executives, foremen and even workmen are brought within the beneficent rays of top management and this 'American way' gives pattern and substance to the system which Mr. Drucker sees as the hope of the world and so ingeniously supports.

"The problems to be solved are not problems of ownership or political control," says the author, rashly as it would seem. "They are the problems of the social organization of modern technology." But how the problems of social organization in our modern industrial life can be tackled without affecting ownership, and how they can be solved without political action passes comprehension. It is all very well for Mr. Drucker to lose himself in the related problems which come up at the fringe of these questions—management, planning and technology—but any line of action which affects the social interest finally resolves itself into an economic cost, and someone has to foot this cost.

Industry must relate social action to cost and as a consequence to its own profits (and of course it does) and it is particularly foolish for Mr. Drucker, in penning this corporate propaganda, to make such statements as above quoted. Moreover a little later on (page 236) he laments "our failure to see that the present rate of profitability on which American economy operates is too low for the economic expansion which we expect." Now if this is so, it means that not only has he unconsciously confirmed Marx's law of the falling rate of profit in capitalist industry but has blown sky-high most of his own philosophic apologia. For with a falling rate of profit the door is almost closed tight to the possibility of adopting the social measures and benefits which could alone provide harmony in a system dominated by the big corporation. Private ownership with its dependence on the rate of profit is still the major obstacle to social betterment.

E. A. Beder.

## Lower Middle Class

LONDON BELONGS TO ME: Norman Collins; Collins; pp. 639; \$3.00.

"London, thou art the flower of cities all," said the poet Dunbar, and in a finely perceptive introduction Norman Collins tells us that London is more than its buildings; it is the people's city. Petticoat Lane is more London than Park Lane, and the people change little over the centuries, the refugees being sometimes Huguenots, sometimes Jews, with the Huguenots now Londoners and a little doubtful of newcomers in their turn. They're all Londoners—the French and Italians in Soho, the Chinese in Limehouse, the Scotsmen in Muswell Hill, and the Irish round the docks.

The theme is a great theme; the weaving into one great pattern of the actions of a small number of Londoners upon the background of the complex that is London today. But the lengthy novel never approaches this magnificent conception. Here is London of the lower middle class of clerks, greengrocers, landladies, mechanics, and such dubious hangers-on to respectability as the elderly ladies' room attendant from a night club, and the seedy spiritualist medium who longs for amatory safety with cash laid down.

Social historians will ask why it is that this English lower middle class did not provide the material for Fascism's advance as it did in other industrial countries. Mr. Collins doesn't seem to know how remarkable his characters are; economics and politics are something faintly funny when indulged in by Tories, and ridiculous and fanatical when socialist.

Norman Collins is not moved to acid indignation by what he records, even in the tragedy of Percy, the garage hand



working for thirty shillings a week and tips—Percy, who must have drink and stolen cars and The Blonde to satisfy his sense of manhood, since he is the typical product of a broken-down society which has given men machines but no standard of values to replace those finally destroyed by the industrial revolution.

World events from 1938 to 1941 find these Londoners as they are; they become neither pitiful nor really heroic; they remain of very human stature, even if not wholly three-dimensional. This is much more than "summer reading", and from glimpses here and there one might expect Mr. Collins' intuitions and a sort of shut-mouthed irony at which he excels to take him far deeper next time. Unfortunately this is his eighth novel and the "Good Companions" mold may be too deeply set.

*Dorothy Fraser.*

### Displaced Redmen

THE LAST TREK OF THE INDIANS: Grant Foreman; University of Chicago Press; pp. 382; \$5.25.

More than one third of the Indians of the United States live in Oklahoma, some 55 tribes being represented there of which only 12 are native. How the migration of the other 43 tribes took place, the policies and no-policies of the government and the agents who manipulated the removal of the Indians from their more valuable territories, the physical sufferings and the grief of the Indians, and their sporadic, futile resistance to the overwhelming forces against them are the subjects treated in this book. This is a story of "displaced persons," a carefully documented work compiled from close consultation of the available (and less available) archives, everything from Acts of Congress to the reports of agents on conversations with Indians.

While at first the reader may feel himself lost in a welter of detail about Indian tribes, large and small, some of them unknown, in the end the work presents a very dramatic story of the tragedies of the displacement of a great people, or rather of many peoples. The details of the blunders of agents, of the trickery of traders, of the illness and misery of the Indians, of misunderstandings and breaches of faith on both sides, are essential to the whole picture and lose nothing from the dryly factual presentation. Occasionally the author is unable to hide his bitter sympathy with the Indian lot.

"The Indians, however, continued reluctant to leave their old home, and it was necessary to call them into a council in the summer of 1869 to urge upon them the necessity for removing to the Indian Territory in accordance with the treaty recently made. This council was described by observers as a pathetic occasion. Keokuk and Mokohoko addressed the Indians and whites present and with impressive pathos expressed the grief of all the Indians at the prospect of leaving their home. One-half of the audience seemed to be crying, said the observer, when Keokuk finished his address warning them there was no alternative but to leave.

"Mokohoko, however, was defiant and said he would never give up his old home and the graves of his dead. A delegation selected on this occasion went to inspect their new land and returned with unfavorable reports. However, as the whites were crowding them out of their property in Kansas, there seemed to be no alternative but to remove at once. By this time several hundreds of them had been made citizens with the priceless privileges of voting, suing, being sued, paying taxes, and selling their land.

"After the purchase of necessary equipment for the removal and planting in their new home, the Sauk and Foxes (except

240 under their chief, Mokohoko, who refused to go south), in charge of their agent, departed from their Kansas home on November 25, 1869."

Such a survey not only has its modern parallels; it is a necessary prerequisite for the intelligent conduct of Indian affairs today. The facts of the Canadian situation must be very similar and someone would do well to make a similar presentation of them.

*Kathleen Coburn.*

## OUR CONTRIBUTORS

PROFESSOR G. M. A. GRUBE, whose first article on Britain's Labor Government appeared in our July issue, is President of the Ontario Section of the CCF.

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ROSS L. HOLMAN, of Nashville, Tenn., contributes articles on popular science to various publications.

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